

INSIDE: ELIZABETH MANLEY'S OLYMPIC TRIUMPH

Maclean's

MARCH 7, 1988

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$2

THE SECRETS OF 'SUPER TUESDAY'



America Approaches
A Critical
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Vote



The Battle
For The
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

MARCH 7 1994 VOL. 19, NO. 11

COVER

The secrets of 'Super Tuesday'

As the U.S. presidential contenders warmed up for next week's important Super Tuesday vote, Republican Martin (Pat) Robertson—embarrassed by fellow TV preacher Jimmy Swaggart's confession that he had "sinned"—reaped conservative support and signs that the primaries would only underline the old division in the South. —Page 18

COVER ART BY MICHAEL FOX



Avoiding divisive conflicts
 Prime Minister Brian Mulroney introduced new conflict-of-interest legislation—and went on the offensive against critics in the media and the opposition. —Page 12



The lure of western gold
 Competition between the Toronto and Vancouver stock exchanges has intensified over the past four years as the TSX continues its campaign to lure VSE listings. —Page 36



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Making the moment last
 As the Calgary Winter Games wound to a close, a host of new heroes, including Canadian skater Elizabeth Manley, basked in the Olympic spotlight. —Page 46



A new cover girl superstar
 Although she is only 12, Milla Jovovich is an international star. She has already appeared on the covers of glossy magazines in three countries. —Page 52

LETTERS

A question of rights

I agree with Katherine Coffin's statement. "To assert what women have been saying for 30 years: that the decision whether to bear a child is a fundamental human right." ("Abortion," *Canoe*, Feb. 5) However, I think that we would disagree as to when the right begins. I believe that the right to bear children happens every time a person engages in sexual intercourse, and not after a child is conceived. People desire to have sexual freedom, but do not take the responsibility that goes with it.

—KEV JENKINS
Phoenix, Ariz.

Like many Canadians, I applaud the Supreme Court's decision on the abortion issue. As a mother of a two-year-old child and expecting another baby, it is unlikely that I would personally consider abortion as an option. However, I firmly believe that it is a private decision for women. The state, the church or lobby groups are presumptuous in believing they have a right to be involved in such a decision.

—HEIDI LINDA DOWLING
Mississauga, Ont.

Your article "Hard Bar on abortion" (*Canada*, Feb. 29) fails to mention the counselling and postnatal care services that B.C. Premier William Vander Zalm's government has established in conjunction with its recent decision to severely restrict access to abortion. This government issues one with the impression that Vander Zalm is an unforgiving religious fanatic when, in fact, he has tempered justice



Margaret Atwood

with mercy and compassion. As a feminist and a Christian, I can only applaud his actions in this case. —SANDY ARNOLD
Regina

Fair and balanced reporting

In her quest for fair and balanced reporting, Barbara Amiel could hardly find a better example than the story on Afghanistan on CBC's *5 p.m. news*, Oct. 30. "What makes news at the CBC?" *Canada*, Feb. 5. We showed that among the rebels with British and U.S. missiles has greatly improved their military position. But the question is, so we said, will that send the Soviets packing or just dig them in deeper? Two pro-Western analysts were given equal time to express opposing views. One thought that the Soviets could be pressured militarily to withdraw from Afghanistan, the other felt that escalation of the war makes a political settlement more difficult. My suspicion is that in Amiel's mind any mention of the Soviet Union without explicit reference to the "evil empire" turns a reporter as being "soft on Communism". —DANIEL MULLINS
Montreal

What the fifth estate, Canadian Broadcasting Corp., Toronto

Royalties in perspective

In your story "A bullish market for Canadian writers" (*Publishing*, Feb. 26), I was quoted as describing my firm's author-related costs as "horrors". Perhaps sales of Canadian-written books to stores and libraries of close to \$7 billion roughly translate to retail sales of \$125 million—the figure on which authors' royalties are calculated. Penguin's payments to authors in 1987 were \$2,480 million. Compared to the sales figures, the royalties are in no way "horrors"—and I did not say that they were. —MARKUS MORT

President and publisher, Penguin Books Canada Ltd., Markham, Ont.

PASSAGES

REIGNED: Former Saskatchewan New Democrat premier Allan Rockness, 65, from his seat in the provincial legislature, effective on March 25. Rockness, who played a key role in the 1970s federal-provincial meetings over the drafting of a new Canadian constitution, has accepted a number of teaching positions including one in Toronto's Osgoode Hall law school. The former Rhodes Scholar was premier from 1973 to 1982.

DEED: Richard (Dick) MacDonald, 45, founder in 1970 of the influential *Canadian magazine*, a critical review of Canadian journalism, of apparent complications from diabetes in an Ottawa hospital. Born in Amherst, N.S., MacDonald was later a newspaper reporter for, among others, the *Montreal Star* and the now-defunct *Montreal Star*. He also taught journalism at Toronto's Humber College.

DEED: Internationally known Canadian native artist Noel Doonan, 66, of complications from pneumonia in a Thunder Bay, Ont., hospital. Doonan turned to art in 1967 after he broke his back and his left hip while working as a Great Lakes freighter. His paintings, silk screens and carvings were mainly inspired by nature and Indian legends.

MARRIED: British actor Dudley Moore, 38, best known for his role as the lovable drunk in *Arthur* (1981), and actress Brooke Lark, 38, in Las Vegas. Moore's first two wives were actresses Sherry Kneitel and Tuesday Weld.

DEATH DISCLOSED: In London, of renowned English concert pianist and teacher Graham, 85, on Feb. 4. A child prodigy, born Salomon Glikson, he toured and recorded widely until a stroke ended his performing career in 1966.

DEED: American blues singer Memphis Slim (real name, Peter Chastown), 74, in a Paris hospital. His best-known song was the famous *Every Day I Move the Chains*, later popularized by Count Basie's orchestra.

DEED: Convicted murderer Ray Elmsley, 75, of heart failure in his boarding house in Sydney, N.S. Although it was Elmsley who stabbed 16-year-old Alice under (Sandy) Seal to death with a pocketknife in 1971, another teenager, Donald Marshall, was convicted of the crime and spent 11 years in prison protecting his innocence before the literary finally discovered the real killer. A three-judge inquiry into how the justice system failed Marshall, now 34, is scheduled to resume hearings in Halifax on March 7.

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Calgary new and lean

I was surprised to discover that Calgary is the city "Canadians love to hate" ("The land of beginning again," *The Winter Games/Over, Feb. 15*). I take great pride in the fact that Calgary hosted the Winter Games. It is a city that best illustrates the new look, new Canadian wake-up, a sleek and streamlined progressive spirit, a tremendous source of national pride. As an outsider, I cannot think of a better city from which to show ourselves off to the world. Besides, along with most people I know, it's Toronto that I really love to hate.

—GREG KOLORY
London, Ont.

Thanks for the listening

A few lines to thank you and the Canadian National Institute for the Blind for making it possible to receive *Maclean's* in Braille. Listen to them all so I don't feel cut off from a great magazine.

—BETH STANFIELD
Burlington, Ont.

Seeking a mainland connection

Allen Petheringham's "Is pride of the Island way?" (*Calgary, Jan. 26*) is so much balderdash. While extolling the joys of community, he ignores the realities of Island life. We Newfoundlanders are "the most individualistic" because we have the



Calgary at night, pride

highest unemployment rate, high living costs, low wages and the highest sales tax. Our chief export is our bright and beautiful young people because they can't find jobs. If Prince Edward Island can better its economy by a marginal success, more power to it.

—MARGUERITE ALDRICH
Toronto, N.Y.C.

Abusing Canadian hospitality

I resent your sympathetic article regarding hockey player Jari Bobs ("A five-year prosody-mill," *Follow-up, Feb. 8*). If he was so keen to abuse Canadian hospitality and laws to make a quick buck, he deserves to pay for it. I cannot understand why just because a man is a good hockey player you should write such a compassionate article. Smuggling drugs is one of the most atrocious crimes of the day, and the punishment should be much more severe.

—JOHN A. STANISLOV
Kamook, Sask.

Abandoned credo

Your article "The big challenge from 1988" (*Business/Special Report, Jan. 28*) may have confused readers in reporting that in 1986 IBM abandoned its " credo" that had "banned benefits, salary cuts or forced transfers." IBM has not abandoned its nearly 50-year tradition of full employment. In fact, elsewhere in your article you have an 800 employee greeting that tradition. Nor has IBM initiated salary cuts. As well, the employment of more than 20,000 employees in the past two years was largely voluntary and in keeping with our belief of respect for the individual. In explaining IBM's 1986 lower earnings, which still made IBM one of the most profitable companies during a general industry slump, you should have reported the reasons IBM chairman John Akers gave in our year-end statement. He pointed to sluggish capital spending in North America and moderating economic performance in other countries affecting demand for our products. IBM's 1987 revenue, earnings and shipments all exceeded those of 1986, a good indication that our continuing efforts to make IBM more competitive are beginning to pay off.

—PIER WILLIS

Vice-President, Communications and Corporate Programs,
IBM Canada Ltd.,
Markham, Ont.

Too smart to be president

Allen Petheringham, like the majority of the American electorate, has named the best candidate for president of the United States ("The phenomena of the hearings," *Column, Feb. 8*). He has alluded to her as the "risk lady" (but Bob Dole warned Elizabeth Dole has more guts for her than the rest of the single girl together). Not being a very smart lady, she probably would not want the rotten job anyway.

—JOHN STANISLOV,
Bristol's Grocer, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Send correspondence to: *Letters to the Editor*, *Maclean's* magazine, Maclean Building, P.O. Box 117, Toronto, Ont. M5X 1A5.

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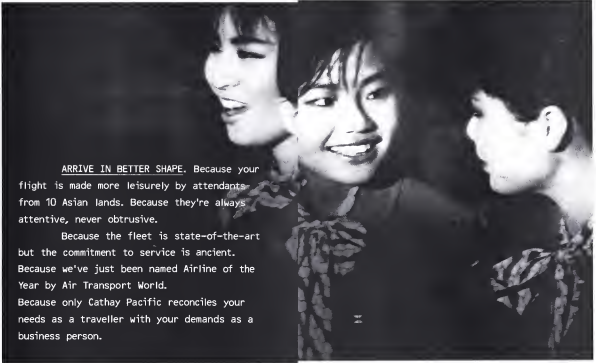
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A fight for vindication

The report was a striking rebuke that threatened a 10-year political career. Last Dec. 3, Solicitor General Jean Lapierre, then in the House of Commons as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called the results of an 18-month-long inquiry by Ontario Superior Court Justice William Parker. Parker concluded that the "former industry minister had shown 'a complete disregard' for the government's ethical standards by violating conflict-of-interest guidelines on 14 occasions. But Stevens, 61, has refused to acknowledge any wrongdoing. He has appealed Parker's findings to the Federal Court of Canada, and Mulroney has learned that the York-Peel member is planning to write a book critical of the media. Stevens has also announced that he will seek the Tory nomination in the next federal election. "In politics, these things are never 100-per-cent decisive," he said.

But Stevens's relentless struggle to show his innocence has damaged many party colleagues. With new scandals rocking the government—last month



Stevens displaying party collogues

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Mulroney fired former supply and services minister Michel Chénier for breaking the same conflict-of-interest guidelines—some Conservatives say that Stevens's plans may add to negative publicity for the government. But Stephen Harper, MP from Edmonton, a powerful Quebec Tory. "The best thing for him would be to finish his term and return to the private sector," added Parker Degré, son for Stephen-Lapierre, who is writing a book as conflict of interest. "The case is troubling for the government because it is unfalsifiable because it is a series of allegations that, if it were not so sad, would be hilarious."

Stevens says that the media and the opposition have conspired to ruin his career. Indeed, he says that his research for the book has convinced him that he is the victim of harassment. In 1986, he claims, more newspaper articles in Canada were written about the Parker inquiry than about AIDS. Stevens, whose 1986 libel lawsuit against the *Toronto Globe and Mail* is still pending, has not yet found a publisher for his book. But he told Mulroney that the main theme will be the media's lack of accountability. "The media are profit-driven," he said. "They are the only business in the country not responsible for their actions."

Ultimately, the voters of York-Peel, a sprawling riding north of Toronto, will determine Stevens's political future. And to residents appear concerned about Parker's findings. In January, when Stevens appeared on an open-house show on the unit's necessity cable to stations, commentators peppered him with questions about the inquiry. Only one caller deviated from the subject—complaining about long-distance rates.

Meanwhile, if Stevens wins the Tory nomination, he may be running against a friend—and a witness to the Parker inquiry—Frank Stronach, the multi-millionaire owner of Magna International Inc., a Markham, Ont.-based auto parts manufacturer. Stronach is considering seeking a Liberal nomination in Stevens's riding, and insiders say that he could enter an election contest. Stronach was brought before Parker because Stevens appointed him to the board of the Canada Development Investment Corp.—a Crown corporation in charge of certain federal assets—at a time when Stevens's wife, Norine, was negotiating with Magna for a loan to the Stevens family building company, York Centre Corp. But even without Stevens's appointment, Stronach's bid on his next appears tenuous. Indeed, with impending fallout from the Parker inquiry, the next federal election may well be the end of Stronach's political career.

—CHRISTIE ALLENBERG

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Restoring the mussels

Pung inside their purple shells, the mussels on Buzzell Dockendoff's icy New London Bay, P.E.I., have hung undisturbed for nine weeks. But in February, Dockendoff began to harvest them for the first time since a Dec. 11 federal ban on the sale of Atlantic mussels. After rigorous test-

ing, government inspectors have now approved most mussels from the East, enabling many producers to market their product again. But scientists still do not know the source of the poisonous domoic acid, found in mussels from Cardigan River, P.E.I., which is thought to have killed three elderly victims and

made at least 135 others ill last December. Those still remain in mussels—erasing some of Dockendoff's—grown in the Cardigan, while a mysterious new toxin inysters from Cansuquet Bay, N.B., has alarmed scientists. And for many of the 250 growers affected by the ban, the financial nightmare is barely over. According to a worried Dockendoff, who said that he lost \$100,000 in revenues from healthy mussels, "Getting public acceptance is the problem."

Consumer confidence may be improved by the government's expanded testing procedures. Fisheries department inspectors continue routine testing of each district's mussel harvest. But now, mussels must pass a more thorough examination, for domoic acid and other toxins, before being harvested. Meanwhile, a team of about 15 government and private-sector scientists is still hard at work in Ottawa and across the Maritimes attempting to discover how the rare toxin developed in the water. One suspect, *Chaetomorpha seaweed*, cannot be tested until its spring growing season. "The mystery remains," said National Research Council scientist Carolyn Bird. "We will have to be patient."

Some producers of healthy mussels who were financially hard hit by the ban have sought government help. On Feb. 10, P.E.I. Fisheries Minister Ross (Johnny) Young sent his third telegram to federal Fisheries Minister Thomas Mulcair requesting compensation for producers on the Island, where this year's mussel crop was expected to generate \$6 million. Ottawa has so far refused compensation. But next week the Fisheries Council of Canada plans to begin a \$4-million, six-month, nationwide advertising campaign to promote all seafood, including mussels.

It may not be difficult to persuade Canadians to return to mussels, according to Cecilia Lantagne, president of New Brunswick's 20-member mussel growers' association. "We heard from Nova Scotia producers [among the first to be freed from the ban] that they are unable to fill their orders. So we are optimistic." But according to Toronto distributor Michael Vaughan, who supplies mussels to 300 restaurants, "An isolated problem has brought the industry to its knees." He added that although his mussel sales are increasing, February sales were two-thirds of what he had forecast. And even as Vaughan and the coastal growers of the East Coast struggle to recover from a disastrous winter, scientists are continuing their search for the cause of an ocean mystery.

—JILL BERNY and LUTHER HAMILT
in Fredericton and SASKIA MACNEIL in
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A little Poland in Devon

As she slowly walks the corridors, wrapped in a long wool blanket and leaning on a cane, only one thing seems out of place: the headphones clamped firmly over her traditional Polish head scarf. The woman's portable radio, tuned to an English-language station that she cannot understand, was suggested by a staff member to keep away the haunting memories of a night nearly 50 years ago when she watched invading soldiers murder members of her family. Another woman, in her 80s, anxiously goes to the camp office several times a day to ask when the truck is coming to deposit her in wartime Poland. At the Ilford Park Polish Home in southern England—the only camp for Second World War Polish refugees that remains of the 40 established by the British government after the war—these events are commonplace. They are also a clear indication that, for many of the residents, 40 years of peace have not erased the nightmares.

Because Poland was divided between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in 1939, then totally overrun by German

forces in 1941 when Adolf Hitler launched his invasion of Russia, many Poles suffered atrocities at the hands of both German and Soviet armies. After the war more than 130,000 Polish refugees, resistance fighters and ex-soldiers who had fought with Polish units attached to the British army set-

The camp has retained a distinctive Polish identity and it also provides the best of both worlds for its elderly residents

led in Britain because of the government's commitment to shelter Polish refugees. Over the years, many of them left the refugee camps and became assimilated into British society. Many others died. But 125 Poles who were unable to integrate into British society now live at Ilford Park—five kilometers northwest of the south

Devon market town of Newton Abbot. Under the terms of the 1947 Polish Resettlement Act, the government is still committed to their welfare. The camp, run by the department of health and social security, has retained a distinctively traditional Polish identity. Known locally as "Little Poland," it also provides the best of both worlds for its elderly residents, most of whom speak little or no English and adhere to Polish customs.

From the outside, the 28-acre camp still has the austere look of the U.S. military installation that it was during the war. The more active residents live in separate one- and two-bedroom apartments fashioned inside the long concrete-block buildings that once served as barracks. More than 60 live in single rooms within other refurbished barracks. And another military barracks has been converted into a Roman Catholic church, where daily masses are conducted in Polish.

Near the church is a small shop run by Jurena Sworecka, 61, a robust and cheerful blonde who was incarcerated in a Soviet labor camp before fleeing to Iran, Iraq and Palestine, and finally arriving at Ilford Park in 1968. Sworecka, who no longer lives in the camp, sells what her customers demand: fresh vegetables, goods such as Asperin and paracetamol, and, of course, Polish sausage and

sauerkraut and Tatra beer from Poland. "Everyone had a very bad time in the war," she said. "But it is a very comfortable life here—and freedom is the most important thing."

Ilford Park residents have used that freedom to dictate much of what happens at the camp. Years ago, when the British staff scheduled English meals, the Poles protested vigorously. As a result, meals—many of them Polish and prepared by a Polish head chef—are still served in the two communal dining halls at traditional Polish times: lunch at 12:30 a.m. and dinner at 4:30 p.m. "There are not people to be pushed around," said Peter Davies, a health department spokesman. Of the camp's 30-person staff, many of the 30 non-Polish employees say that they love the communal spirit. "It is not simply an old folk's home," said Ilford Park manager Maurice Clark. "It is a community where the boundary between the residents and the staff is very hard to define."

The bond to Ilford Park often extends

beyond the original refugees. Ilkka, the daughter and granddaughter of Helena Kusanekiewicz, 78, whose tiny room contains a flowered carpet, flowered tablecloth and Roman Catholic religious pictures, work and live in the camp.



Kusanekiewicz (left) and Kusanekiewicz: Polish customs

Kusanekiewicz's daughter works as a health care assistant, and her granddaughter, 30-year-old Helena Sokolawicz, is an office clerk. Although Sokolawicz spent two years working in Israel, she returned to Ilford Park last year. "The day I will have to move from here will be very sad," she said. "I have enjoyed growing up here."

Last November many residents were clearly shaken by press rumors that the government planned to close Ilford Park and sell the land to real estate developers. But government spokesmen pledged that the camp would not be closed, and when Clark relayed that information one lunch hour to the residents, he received standing ovations. Changes may still take place at Ilford Park though. Clark said that over the next decade the government may sell some of the land and demolish old buildings to construct new and more comfortable dwellings. But he added that the residents will always be cared for on the same site for as long as they live.

That has clearly reassured the Poles of Ilford Park. In their room, Sofia Krynska, 61, and her 88-year-old husband Czeslaw—who lost a leg to diabetes six years ago—said that they could not imagine living anywhere else. "Is very good here," Sofia said in halting English. "Is not Russia." And another resident, a 69-year-old Polish army veteran who asked that his name not be used because he fears reprisals against relatives in Poland, summed up the feelings of many who now make Ilford Park their home. "Even if you offered me a better place," he said, "I would not be very happy about it."

—FRED WISLOW in Newton Abbot



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Defending the right to defend

By Barbara Amiel

In January's *Criminal Lawyers' Association Newsletter*, Toronto lawyer Paul Copeland launched a vicious attack on a chapter in the book *Greenpeace: The Case for the Defense*, written by Edward L. Greenpan and George Jonas. The attack concerned a sequence of events in 1981 when a group of radical lawyers scoured the 18-member Toronto police holiday squad of torturing suspects.

At the time, the radical lawyers, led by Daniele L. Martin and supported by a left-wing group called Citizens' Independent Review of Police Activities, wanted a public inquiry into the charges. Fearing that, if they refused to name the officers involved, the people allegedly tortured, or give any details of the incidents to either the public complaints commission, the attorney general, the police or the courts. The instructions of liberal democracy were not to be treated by them and they feared for their clients. It occurred to me at the time that public inquiries are often popular with radicals because one can make all sorts of charges without the standards of proof as safeguards that a court would require.

The holiday squad was fascinated. How do you defend yourself against charges of being a gun topper when your answers are trying you in the press but won't reveal details or evidence? They hired Edward Greenpan to represent them.

After two years of thorough investigation, no policemen were charged. But my concern at the time, as now, was on with chasing the police. For all I knew, there may well have been goons in the holiday squad. My concern was that the police, like any accused, are entitled to proper legal representation. This attitude was not shared by the radical lawyers. Robby Greenpan was accused of acting as a mercenary in defending the police.

This was too much for me. I wrote a column in *The Toronto Star* pointing out that when Greenpan defended all elements of society from alleged perpetrators to alleged murderers as now questioned his liberalism. But when he defended the police against unspecified sweeping accusations precisely in the name of that liberalism, his motives were for the first time questioned. Copeland guessed this risk was of mine in the January lawyers' Newsletter and accused Jonas, Green-

pan and me of intellectual dishonesty. The book's claim that radical lawyers had a political agenda of their own was merely Red-baiting, Copeland said.

His article was taken up by the media and suddenly, last month, the radicals were consigned to the woodwork again. Toronto lawyer Andrew Ring was quoted as being quite appalled when Greenpan was hired to represent the holiday squad. Thomas Martin spoke of the pain of being criticized in the *Toronto Star* and Greenpan's book. "There is no forum to respond. My belief in freedom of the press was sorely tested by that only piece of writing," said Martin, rather obscurely, to the *Toronto Globe* and *Mail*. One couldn't help feeling that once the day Martin saw power, freedom of the press itself would be sorely at risk. Prominent civil rights lawyer Clayton Ruby told *The Toronto Star* that it was most peculiar.

In 1972 Greenpan was one of a team of lawyers who defended antiwar activist Karlann Armstrong, charged with a fatal bombing at the University of Wisconsin. Greenpan defended Armstrong against extradition on grounds that a man ought to have the right to cross-examine his accusers, and the extradition procedures did not allow that Greenpan had no sympathy for Armstrong's politics. He did feel that Armstrong had a valid legal defence.

Why should police officers publicly accused of being goon squad torturers not have the right to a good lawyer?

For Greenpan to take on the holiday squad's case. "It is clear that he acts for the rich and the powerful," Ruby said.

Ruby's statement astonished me, but it seemed so me representative of radical thought. Was he saying that the rich and powerful did not deserve legal representation? That they should lose their constitutional protection and ordinary rights as citizens and should be found guilty without a trial? It occurred to me that his partner, Marilyn Schwartz, is the most powerful attorney for the convicted terrorist Mahmood Mohammad Iqbal. Did Ruby mean, perhaps, that a doctor or lawyer—or policeman—should not have the same rights as a Palestinian killer?

Furthermore, an analysis of Greenpan's clients would show he has only defended a handful of rich clients. But this is not the point. Before the law, there are only accused criminals. Justice means a blind eye does not peek to see if a man is black or white, rich or poor. In any case, relative to the might of the state, every citizen accused by His

Majesty the Queen is infinitely less powerful. And in this day and age one might go as far as to say that to be rich and powerful is more a disadvantage in court than an advantage. While few judges or prosecutors would be afraid to confront their perfectly legitimate discretion in favour of an ordinary man, most would be terrified to exercise the same discretion for someone politically, financially or socially powerful.

In 1972 Greenpan was one of a team of lawyers who defended antiwar activist Karlann Armstrong, charged with a fatal bombing at the University of Wisconsin. Greenpan defended Armstrong against extradition on grounds that a man ought to have the right to cross-examine his accusers, and the extradition procedures did not allow that Greenpan had no sympathy for Armstrong's politics. He did feel that Armstrong had a valid legal defence.

This pinpoints the difference between lawyers such as Greenpan and the political activists such as Copeland et al. The activist lawyers seem to me to be threatened in the whole point of the law, namely the great impartiality of its technicalities and procedures. It is not only the substance of a case with which the law is concerned. It is seeing that every citizen, regardless of the substance of his case, is granted the same procedural protections. Substance means a man may have committed a crime, procedure has to do with seeing he has a fair trial rather than being lynched. But activist lawyers will not often light only if the substance of a case suits their political cause—if it involves an AIDS victim, blacks, environmentalists. They will yell about civil liberties for Rod Rodden, but not for Bert Borens and George Jonas. I suspect Greenpan because he is disinterested in substance and, in the best tradition of his profession, sticks to procedure.

In an article in the Newsletter, Paul Copeland described his own policies. "I regard myself as on the left of the political spectrum. I object to being described as a conservative (not conservative) but rather like the underdog term anarchist." His policies are the ever-blooming and the continuing. The speaking for myself, the one description he and his pit to shame is that of lawyer.



Avoiding future conflicts

For more than three years, accusations of scandal and patronage have hit the federal Conservative government. As a result, when a Quebec jury acquitted former cabinet minister André Bouchette on Feb. 28 on charges of breach of trust, fraud and conspiracy, a jubilant Prime Minister Brian Mulroney went on the offensive against his critics. He introduced long-promised conflict-of-interest legislation that would subject all members of Parliament to detailed scrutiny before a new Conflict of Interest Commission. But he defiantly told reporters that the proposals were necessary to protect government members from accusations from the media and the opposition.

"If somebody has an allegation of conflict of interest, a third party will impartially make that determination, not a bunch of howling people on the floor of the House of Commons," he said. "The proposed legislation would resolve the vexatious problem of conflict of interest to a three-member commission that would examine disclosure statements from all MPs and senators. The commission would then recommend how each member should handle all assets and liabilities to avoid potential conflicts of interest. For Liberal Leader John Turner and New Democratic Party Leader Ed Broadbent, the 30-page bill was a limited attempt to tackle a long-standing problem. For a handful of Conservative hard-benchers, it was an awkward intrusion into their personal affairs. But for Mulroney, the proposal was the only way to handle a young problem which has haunted his party—and poisoned



Mulroney in the Commons: 'This is the price you have to pay'

"You seem to be the only people who don't understand how tough and certain it has been," he told reporters during an 11-temperament confrontation shortly after the bill was introduced. "You don't realize how disconnected you are in many ways from the reality of the ordinary guy in the street who's fed up with these premature judgments and waste of time."

In an attempt to ensure fairness, the bill reflects the 1985 conflict-of-interest code with legislators—ask it goes beyond ministers and parliamentary secretaries to embrace all MPs and senators. Within 90 days of their appointment to the official announcement of their election, the legislators would be required to submit detailed personal information about themselves, their spouses and their dependents to the minister of the proposed Conflict of Interest Commission. That statement would include the description and the value of all their assets and liabilities, the amount and sources of their income, and a list of all activities

and positions they held during the preceding 12 months. The commission, in turn, would scrutinize those statements, taking into account each member's responsibilities. According to the bill, a conflict of interest could arise when an MP or senator "has significant private interests that affect the opportunity for the member to benefit, whether directly or indirectly, as a result of any office of the member." To avoid potential conflict, the commission would recommend action ranging from disposal of the controversial asset or liability to the establishment of a trust to administer the member's interests.



Bouchette welcomed back by colleagues, stringent disclosure requirements

When a parliamentarian complied, the commission would issue a public declaration of his or her "permitted private assets"—and certify that no member had violated with the act. But that declaration would not likely include full disclosure of each individual's assets. The law would allow the commis-

sioners to balance "the public interest in disclosure and the interest in maintaining reasonable privacy." The commission would function as an independent body reporting to Parliament and supported by cabinet after consultation among all three federal parties. It could launch its own investigations to balance "the public interest in disclosure and the interest in maintaining reasonable privacy."

Vindication—and conviction

The two friends had anxiously awaited the verdict. When it came, it was a triumph for one's heavy blow for the other. After a two-week trial a Quebec Superior Court jury last week found former junior transport minister André Bouchette not guilty of fraud, breach of trust and conspiracy. But the same jury convicted Normand Ouellette, Bouchette's former riding president, of fraud in a series of land transactions involving a 100-acre lot in St-Jean, Que., 40 km southeast of Montreal, which tripled in value during 11 days in 1985. Outside the courtroom in Bouchette's home riding of St-Jean, friends and supporters cheered their MP, who, with

his wife, Anita Lalumière, thanked and praised the jurors. For Ouellette, there was no applause—and he left the court without speaking. Thirteen months earlier Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had fired Bouchette from the cabinet and ordered an RCMP investigation into the land deals. They involved a tract of industrial land purchased by Ouellette's company, which at the time was seeking a federal contract for a low-level air defence system. The Swiss-based arms manufacturer bought the lot for \$296 million in January, 1985, less than two weeks after it had been sold for \$90,000. Ouellette, who managed Bouchette's blind trust, had an option on the land and made a \$300,000 profit from the sale. The MP had charged against the pair last August. During the trial Crown prosecutor Ellen Park argued that the two men had used "privileged information" to

buy—or investigate at the request of the Prime Minister, the Senate or the Commons. If it concluded that a legislator was guilty of misconduct, the Senate or the Commons—not the commission—would impose a penalty that could include a reprimand, compensation for damages or a fine of up to \$20,000. It is not clear yet if an ordinary member from the Commons by declaring that his suit was racist. Senators could merely request the resignation of an offending colleague—because of constitutional restrictions on the removal of senators.

Each opposition leader claimed that the bill would not do enough to prevent conflicts of interest. Broadbent demanded a detailed definition of the term "conflict of interest" to replace the simple description in the bill. "What this means is they are leaving themselves open to all kinds of disputes, interpretations [and] misunderstandings in the future as to what a conflict of interest means," he said. And Turner called for laws to cover such activities as government contracts, federal advertising and patronage appointments to all major posts.

Other parliamentarians complained that the bill goes too far by subjecting stringent conflict-of-interest requirements to ordinary MPs. Although a handful of Tory backbenchers criticized it privately, only one Conservative MP, Alvin Kinky (Ontario East), declared publicly that it would discourage worthy applicants from entering politics. A senior official in the Prime Minister's Office swiftly responded that the Conservatives are angered by Kinky's frank talk—and contrary stands. Then,

after the profit. Bouchette, 62, insisted that he had been unaware his friend had made money on the deal—or that Ouellette had invested half the \$200,000 in term deposits on behalf of companies controlled by Bouchette and his wife. Ouellette, 46, supported that testimony—and the jury of six men and six women accepted their version of events. Bouchette, who had a warm welcome when he returned to Ottawa last week. The Prime Minister congratulated him on his acquittal but did not offer a return to the cabinet. The MP's constituents, however, confidently predicted that he would regain his seat. "As he had lost," said St-Jean Mayor Robert Duchesneau, "but now we've got him back." For his part, Ouellette was paid \$100,000 and ordered to pay Ouellette the profit that he had made from the land deal.

—LISA VAN DUSEN in St-Jean

in a thinly veiled warning that the new would encounter opposition if he tried to run for the Conservatives in the next election, the official added: "I just wish Alex [Kenny] took at his own warning."

The government's determination stems from the fact that scandals have often overwhelmed the Mulroney government's accomplishments. In fact, because of intense difficulties affecting three ministers who resigned or were fired since 1984, in 1986 former industry minister Sheila Stevens resigned his cabinet post—but kept his job in the Commons—and serious allegations of conflict of interest from last December, after eight months of grueling hearings, Ontario Supreme Court Justice William Parker concluded that Stevens had violated the guidelines on 14 occasions. Stevens is appealing that ruling.

In January, 1987, Mulroney fired Beaumette from the cabinet following reports of irregularities in a complex land deal in his riding. There, early last month, Mulroney dropped Michel Gosselin as supply and services minister when he learned that he had not declared a \$200,000 loan from a close friend. That friend, René Laberge, controlled companies that received more than \$54 million in federal contracts since 1981. Two officials frankly acknowledged last week that they were torn between their desire to curb those alleged irregularities—and their need to recruit good candidates who might be deterred by the stringent disclosure requirements. In his report on Stevens, Parker concluded that "public disclosure should be the cornerstone of a modern conflict-of-interest code." Ontario, in turn, has adopted a code that requires full public disclosure. But Mulroney stopped short of those tough measures when he proposed that the new commission be allowed to decide whether it would preserve the privacy of members.

That decision drew pointed criticism from former Liberal cabinet minister Michael Shupra, the co-chairman of a 1984 federal task force on conflict of interest. Sharp said that the bill would grant too much discretion—and not enough guidance—to the commission. And he noted the absence of recommendations for full public disclosure. But then the former minister added, "No regime can be established which legislates honesty." It was a brutal point that Mulroney also noted last week in a reflective moment. "It does not change the law," he said. "The bottom line is individual responsibility and personal integrity and reliability."

—NARR JAMNAN with RELAT WACKENSTEIN in Ottawa

The mystery of Mohammad

At first it looked like a perfect arrangement. In exchange for his identity documents supplied by the employment and immigration department and protective custody offered by the force, convicted Palestinian terrorist Muhammad Mohammad Ibrahimi would quietly leave Canada for Algeria. But the plan started to unravel soon after the 45-year-old Mohammed had a fearful farewell to his wife, Fadia, and three children in Brampton, Ont. Within 48 hours he had flown to London, then refused permission to go on from there to Algeria—and had returned to Canada. The modest left officials of

Airport, he was greeted by the glare of television lights. As well, according to his travelling companion, Rashid Salah, Muhammad was confronted by British security agents who had been informed of his arrival by csm. Such the scene and soon denied that version of events.

Even less clear was why the second part of the plan fell apart. Officials of Air Algérie would not allow Muhammad to board a flight to Algeria because he did not have a visa to enter Algeria, and on Wednesday afternoon he returned to Toronto aboard another Air Canada flight. Said one source close to the investigation:



Mohammed with daughter, before a fearful farewell to his family

the news and the embattled Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CIS) something to avoid themselves of responsibility.

Mohammed had agreed to leave the country after deportation proceedings were launched against him because he had lied when he entered Canada last year about his role in the 1983 hijacking of an Boeing airliner in Athens. But the attempt began to fall apart once he boarded an Air Canada plane last week. Reports of his impending departure spread through the airport, eventually reaching Gilbert Zemanovsky, a Toronto businessman. Zemanovsky then informed a friend, Rashid Salah, who in turn alerted the Toronto city television station.

As a result, instead of the show of secrecy that Mohammed was expecting on his arrival at London's Heathrow

"The only thing that went wrong was that Mohammed didn't have the documents to land in Algeria." It was unclear if the Algerian government called the trip off because of the publicity—or if the travel arrangements, known only to a handful of people, were incomplete.

By week's end, many questions remained as to what sort of arrangement that would have benefited both the federal government—which wanted Mohammed out of Canada—and Mohammed himself, who was seeking a country that would give him a new home. But with that failed, fact behind them, the two sides were scheduled this week to resume their legal fight over Mohammed's deportation order.

—RELAT WACKENSTEIN in Ottawa



Portals outside the Supreme Court "certainly only a partial victory"

Extending French rights

Rev. André Mercier, a determined priest who helped lead the fight for francophone rights in Saskatchewan, died in 1986 after losing a battle with cancer. But in the Supreme Court of Canada last week, Mercier's supporters finally won the language-rights battle that he started in 1980 after being issued a speeding ticket outside North Battleford, Sask. In a 6-to-3 decision, the court accepted Mercier's refusal to pay the fine because the province's traffic laws were issued in English only. As a result, the judges affirmed the French-language rights of Saskatchewan residents. Declared Brian Chabot, a francophone-rights activist from the French farming community of Frelanville: "At last French has been recognized as official in Saskatchewan."

But the victory for Saskatchewan's 26,000 francophones, who form just three per cent of the province's population, could be short-lived. Unlike a similar Supreme Court ruling in June, 1982, which nullified most provincial statutes in Manitoba because they were in English only, last week's decision provided a legal loophole, which legislators in Saskatchewan could use to avoid the complex and costly process of translating all laws into French. Saskatchewan's Conservative premier, Grant Devine, may find that

the political cost of taking that route is too high, but in forcing Devine to make such a controversial choice the high court may have deepened the country's growing divisions over bilingualism.

The court found that the Northwest Territories Act, which governed Saskatchewan and Alberta before they became provinces in 1980, still applies in Saskatchewan. Section 116 of that act guaranteed residents the right to speak French before the courts and required that territorial statutes be published in both French and English. But the Supreme Court also ruled that court officials in Saskatchewan can use either language and that a defendant does not have to be provided with a translator, unless it is clear that a fair trial must be conducted without one.

Still, many observers were more concerned with the part of the ruling that could allow Saskatchewan to avoid following Manitoba in translating all its laws into French. Instead, the province could make provincial statutes valid in English only. Said Yves Fassin, spokesman for the Fédération of Francophones Outside Quebec: "It is certainly only a partial victory, but it is difficult to see how Saskatchewan would not respect the decision."

Writing the majority decision for

the Supreme Court, Justice General La Forest ruled that Saskatchewan must either translate its laws—a task that could take many years and cost up to \$5 million—or declare its old laws valid "within the maximum period required." Following the court's landmark ruling in 1982 on the validity of Manitoba's English-only statutes, that province was given a three-year grace period during which most of the translation work could be done while existing laws remained in force.

In Saskatchewan, government officials gave no immediate indication of what they would do. But the opposition urged the Devine government to take steps immediately to avoid an angry backlash similar to that which followed the Manitoba ruling. Said NDP justice critic Ed Stelmach: "We have to avoid that kind of serious-on-debate."

Legal experts said that because Alberta and Saskatchewan were originally governed by the same territorial statutes, the Manitoba ruling also applied to Alberta as well. Alberta Attorney General James Harrison said only that officials were reviewing the judgment.

Like Saskatchewan, Alberta has endorsed the provisions of the Meech Lake agreement, which includes a commitment to minority language rights. But the issue of bilingualism has been controversial in Alberta recently, particularly after a francophone M.L.A., Leo Poirier, wanted to bring French in the provincial legislature last year. Georges Arès, president of the French-Canadian Association of Alberta, said that it would take intense pressure from the federal and Quebec governments to persuade Alberta Premier Don Getty to enforce French language rights in the province. But for the Mulroney government, already facing a serious revolt over the Meech Lake agreement, French language issues through proposed amendments to the Official Languages Act, getting heavily involved in what politicians see as a deeply divisive issue was an unwise prospect.

—MICHAEL BROWN (Ottawa) with DALE ELSER in Regina

THE SECRETS OF SUPER TUESDAY



Along River Road, outside Greenville, N.C., the sagging clapboard structure of black farm workers generated the winter-barron tobacco fields. But turning down a newly paved lane into Marvin Moore's farm, Tennessee Senator Albert Gore's motorcade came to rest at a more picturesque scene of the rural South. On a platform in the barnyard, a country band strummed bluegrass tunes while, sitting around picnic tables, 300 white housewives and tobacco farmers to tractor rigs watched an hour-long sucking pig in the backyard eat Gore's campaign strategists had clearly chosen the setting with care. Unleashing a drizzle that he seldom displays in Washington, Gore presented an image that was crucial to his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. At 20, the youngest and most handsome of the White House legions had been captured by one customer as "Prince Albert of the Tennessee Valley." A senator's son, the southern-born Gore was raised in Washington—where he attended the capital's most exclusive private school before going on to study law at Harvard.

Blacker Snow. Gore and nine other Democratic and Republican presidential candidates are trying to tailor their images to fit the tastes of voters in 36 states—14 of them in the South—which will hold primary elections on March 6—a critical date, known as Super Tuesday. The very idea of the superprimary was largely spawned by the Democrats and it was born out of the region's long-term political frustration. River since the

bitter civil rights struggles of the 1960s, southern Democratic leaders have watched as their race-regionally dominant party lost a succession of presidential elections. And they lost their majority—the southern whites made voter—the Republicans.

Campaign. For many of the candidates, next Tuesday may be a make-or-break day—and the intensity of their campaign reflects its importance. Last week Gore resorted to taking demonstrators of hooded dog collars and brandishing the emblems of his beyond-nominal

belonging in the tobacco fields on the family's Tennessee farm. "I want you to know, with my own hands I've put it in the plant beds, I've hoed it, I've weeded it, I've strung it and sold it," he told the rally. "I stand with the small farmer. Whoever there have been people at the grassroots level standing against large powerful interests. I've been with the average working man and woman."

Which that populist claim, Gore echoed a theme that has resonated through the politics of the South for generations. From Lincoln's legendary freedom

governor, Huey Long, to the "God send a message" presidential campaign of Alabama's defiant segregationist governor, George Wallace, southern politicians have played the same on-again-off-again theme. And in doing so, they have succeeded in tapping the deep undercurrents of regional resentment that began in the South's more than 150 years after the Civil War. Indeed, the politics of resentment lay behind the electoral test that will determine whether or not Gore's candidacy can survive.

More than any other candidate in either party, Gore has gambled his fortunes on the 34 primaries on Super Tuesday. But complicating his wager are all the contradictions that have long made the region's most volatile political terrain. There is not one South, but many Souths—as the 18 candidates trying to cover the vast territory. In only three weeks he has discovered that one pole are the backwoods hillbillies of Tennessee, at the other, the transplanted middle-class whites who drive BMWs, subscribe to *The New Yorker* and work in the high-tech industries flowering around Raleigh, N.C. And Gore now finds himself pitted against a representative of yet another fragment of the new South: Jesse Jackson, who is expected to win a solid 30 per cent of the Democratic vote in the South (page 22).

In fact, most analysts say that Super Tuesday, designed to give southern Democrats a strong, unified voice in the political arena, is likely to produce no decisive winner, serving only to underscore the region's still-festering divisions of race. Indeed, some experts say that Super Tuesday could leave the party even more polarized along racial lines



Gore in Texas; Robertson (below) avoids, a renegade

in the South. Political scientist Merle Black of the University of North Carolina points out that, if the Democrats fail to find a consensus candidate to lure white voters back to the fold, "people could start to ask whether the Democratic party would still be useful to whites." Said Black: "It poses these real long-term questions for the party. And at the bottom of it, they're very ugly questions."

Evangelicalism. Among Republicans too,

constitutional ban on abortion have mounted over the past eight years. Now, many of them are their hopes raised again by former televangelist evangelist Herman (H.W.) Robertson. And Barbara Jenkins, a homemaker from Marietta, Ga., a suburb of Atlanta, typifies their fury and ambition. She said that she was so horrified at the violence taught in her local public school that she pulled her 10-year-old daughter out of class two years ago and homeschooled her at home. "I'm so sick of the public school system," she said. "In our town, there's a group of us that is 50-strong. We're against this secular humanism that is taught."

Last week Jenkins joined 3,000 others in Atlanta's Civic Centre in a "palegreen" flag-waving aversion for Robertson as he repeatedly urged the party to support a candidate who has historically mobilized the South. One was acrid in some against an intrusive Yankee federal government that has imposed everything from affirmative action quotas to abortion rights. Said Robertson: "There's one thing we don't like as southerners and we don't like as conservatives. We don't want some big government in Washington telling us what to do."

Robertson has broadened his politics of resentment to take in the economically disaffected as well. Campaigning among South Carolina textile workers last week, he blamed the loss of nearly 200,000 jobs on the South's textile mills over the past 15 years as "the international workers community." And he charged that back issues to Communism and Third World countries had enabled those unions to



People in Charleston: the politicians were playing the South's favorite unapologetic theme type



ROBERTSON

profess cheap experts that were stealing American markets.

Robertson also tried to portray himself as the beleaguered underdog fighting the Republican Yankee establishment as he wrestled with his worst critics last week. At times, he made confessions of fire-and-brimstone Louisiana televangelist, evangelist Jimmy Swaggart that he had "lied"—reportedly paying prostitutes to perform peripatetic acts. Robertson—whose candidacy was endorsed by Swaggart—suggested that Vice-President George Bush was behind the exposure, hoping to embarrass him. He claimed it "various credibility" that Swaggart's scandals had come to light "two weeks before the most important primary in the nation."

Harve in portraying himself as David to the Goliath of Republican front-runner Bush—and linking Bush to the party's old-guard Texas establishment and business—Robertson had again sounded a new familiar in the South. It was a note many had not heard since George Wallace's rebellion 1976 presidential campaign against the mainstream. Democratic party was derided by an assassination attempt that led the Alabama governor arrested. In fact, the Alabama governor arrested. In fact, the Alabama governor arrested. In fact, the Alabama governor arrested.

Hawell, 28, an unemployed policeman in Little Rock. After returning home from the Vietnam War, Hawell found he could not even get a job interview with the local police department. "They were only looking for women and minorities," said Hawell. "They were trying to fill a quota set by the federal government, and a lot of southern white males resent that."

In recent years only one candidate,

1984, 48 of the party's most passionate fund-raisers gathered in a Washington hotel to plan a new strategy. One of them was retired North Carolina insurance tycoon Wallace Hays, now a key Gore supporter. "I was devastated by that 1984 loss," he said. "I made up my mind I'm tired of losing elections. We've been beat over the head enough." He argued that Dukakis, as they call themselves, had to win more influence

So—who lost his Senate seat in 1979 because of his opposition to the Vietnam War—was one of the South's leading liberals. And despite his recent hard-line stance on defense, Gore has a liberal voting record that makes some southern conservatives suspicious. In fact, in the middle of a news conference to endorse Gore last week, Alabama's plump governor Jesse Helms declared the campaign by suddenly stating, "It's not

still had an uphill fight against Republican front-runner George Bush's overwhelming lead in the South.

Similarly encouraged by a victory in the Midwest was the Democratic Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts. With his 34-per-cent victory in Minnesota, Dukakis proved that he was not just a New England regional candidate. But some southerners still clearly doubt that Dukakis can transfer his cool

1980 32 per cent of the Triangle's new-come have been born from northern states—34 per cent of them from Dukakis's stronghold, the northeast—in pursuit of the 2,000 new jobs created there each year.

And with three of the country's leading universities in the area and more Ph.D.s per capita than anywhere else in the nation, scholars have now sprung up to replace the absenteeism movement when the rural tobacco areas are rugged. Still, much of the old South remains. Agriculture still rules the region, and 60 per cent of its population remains rural. And southern states still play home to 48 per cent of the nation's poor. But despite what Republican Leader of the Tobacco Growers Information Committee in Raleigh terms "the antitobacco cabal," tobacco is still the number 1 cash crop. In fact, nothing underlines the complexities of presidential campaigning in the South more than Dukakis' recent encounter with the tobacco industry.

Cropper: As Lester tells it, the Massachusetts governor swung through North Carolina last summer and suggested that tobacco farmers—under siege from the antitobacco lobby—ought to consider diversifying. He proposed a crop that had been a success in his state, Belgian endive. But in North Carolina—where tobacco grows on six per cent of the cropland produces over 50 per cent of the crop income—the story still promises golfers and jobless about "tobacco agriculture." And Lester has produced a "tobacco primer" for presidential contenders to stop them "spitting off all this nonsense," as he puts it.

What Americans are under \$54 billion expenditure a year, compared to \$28 billion in 1979, the tobacco export market is flourishing. The chief U.S. customer Japan. That could be one reason why Gephardt's protectionist anti-smoking bill may fail on dual cost among the South's 200,000 tobacco farmers. And Lester: "Our farmers said to me, 'If I keep buying our top leaf, I'll be happy to buy any of their tobacco trucks.'"

Meanwhile, political analysts grow increasingly doubtful that Tuesday will clarify this year's muddled election campaign.

They point out that if March 6 produces no clear winner in either party, the month will be deeply harmful. Not only will southerners have to deal with the choice of a candidate, but, and Stephen Hays, of Washington's Brookings Institution, "it will increase the importance of the late primaries in the industrial states again." If that should happen, the new South—the South of old—will be able to influence the choice again, harboring the grudge of a region alienated from the rest of the nation.

—MARTY MCARDLE in Atlanta



Vice-President Bush (left), Dole, compete in the most volatile political arena

In 1978, he had succeeded in luring disaffected southern white males back to the Democratic party and winning the White House, a coalition Georgia peanut farmer named Jimmy Carter. But in the wake of Walter Mondale's humiliating 48-state loss to Reagan in

choosing the Democratic candidate. Real Dole: "We can't take a typical southern liberal and elect him. We've got to have a president who's in the moderate way."

The first-term group, calling itself Impact 88, persuaded 14 of the nation's state legislatures to opt for a one-day southern primary. And northern Republicans, who had swept the last presidential elections, were only too glad to go along with the plan. But the Democratic strategy omitted one key element, a candidate around whom they could unite. When Georgia's Senator Sam Nunn and former Virginia governor Charles Robb decided to run, they talked Gore into throwing his hat into the presidential ring.

It remains a last-chance ideal candidate for southern conservatives. Gore's father, Albert

too far to the left, but I've got to try to bring him to the middle a little bit. So, that's the Gore's liberal way, position on defense leaves many voters convinced—as does his man-of-the-people approach. Real Michael Dukakis, a North Carolina textile union organizer who supports Jesse Jackson. "Somebody I knew who was for him just two days before election of our job. He is coming across as a real mess. This money I chase guys are, who believe it?"

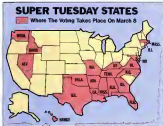
Gore has also discovered that an expected rival may outperform him in tapping grassroots Democratic frustration in the South. Representative Richard Gephardt's anti-smoking bill is tapping pockets of the South—a strategy generally called "cherry-picking." His argument is courtier northern reticence, who now populate the communities of Tampa, Fla., and Miami. And Dukakis is displaying his knowledge of Spanish to gain endorsements from Texas's Hispanic leaders, but he has also targeted the Yankee professionals and computer wizards who have been lured to the 1,000-square-mile Research Triangle bounded by North Carolina's Raleigh, Durham and Chapel Hill, which now has the fastest-growing high-tech economy in the country. Since

technicians appeal to the South, which traditionally flies its politicians to show down-house emotion and a hands-on turn of phrase. There is also the matter of what some analysts call Dukakis's ethnicity. Said Kenneth Davis, the Democratic commissioner of Pitt County near Greenville, "This is a terrible thing to say, but southerners have always had trouble with names like Dukakis. It's names like Carter and Wallace—you know, Anglo-Saxons—that's who we elect here."

Gephardt's anti-smoking bill is tapping pockets of the South—a strategy generally called "cherry-picking." His argument is courtier northern reticence, who now populate the communities of Tampa, Fla., and Miami. And Dukakis is displaying his knowledge of Spanish to gain endorsements from Texas's Hispanic leaders, but he has also targeted the Yankee professionals and computer wizards who have been lured to the 1,000-square-mile Research Triangle bounded by North Carolina's Raleigh, Durham and Chapel Hill, which now has the fastest-growing high-tech economy in the country. Since



Dukakis in Florida: cherry-picking his way through the suburbs of the South



TRYING TO WIN THE HEART OF TEXAS

[illegible]

swarmed into Texarkana's Church on the Rock to listen to a speech delivered by Adella Robertson, on behalf of her husband, the fundamentalist former television preacher and Republican contender, Marvin (Pat) Robertson. Declared Hatter "The people who are voting for Pat Robertson should have an impact throughout the state, even though most of them were never interested in the primary before."

Variations: The growing support for Robertson in Texans may not prove to be true for the rest of Texas. In a poll published in the *Houston Chronicle* last Thursday, only six per cent favored him. But the Lone Star State's myriad regional, racial, economic and social variations make it unsafe to predict the outcome on Super Tuesday, when 20 states—most of them in the South—

last week stirred rumors—quickly denied—of a possible federal government bailout. The bank's troubles are symptomatic of Texas's current plight.

Texas, which—with 183 Democratic and 111 Republican delegates at stake—has the largest number of Super Tuesday votes.

last week stirred rumors—quickly denied—of a possible federal government bailout. The bank's troubles are symptomatic of Texas's current plight.

Real-estate loans made in the good times have already bankrupted about 100 of the state's savings and loans institutions and threaten at least one other major bank.

Signs of the slump are visible everywhere. The dazzling downtown skylines of Dallas, Houston and Austin

can primary vote in Texas, with Senator Robert Dole—whose Texas campaign has been low-key—trailing badly with only 15 per cent.

Moderate: Although the New England-born Bush is only a Texas resident—and is more moderate politically than many Texans—he is the state's favorite son. And the Democrats, like his Republican rivals, have runned to fear the implications of that fact. Said Sen. Byrd, the Democrats' Texas

chance. I don't want to waste my vote. Bush might get it just because I want someone from Texas."

But the complex rules of the Republican primary could mean that Bush's delegate count from Texas ultimately may not be as impressive as the number of votes he polls. Although in each electoral district candidates will be awarded delegates relative to their vote results, any candidate winning more than half the votes will rack up all three of the

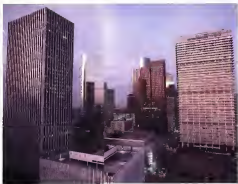
District's delegates. That arrangement should benefit Bush where he is strongest, in areas such as Houston. But it creates an opening for his rivals on rural Texas, where—because there are so few registered Republicans—only a minimal effort is needed to register new Republicans who could easily give their favorite 50 per cent of the primary vote in their district.

Meanwhile, as it is nationally, the Democratic picture in Texas looks confused. Representative Michael Geyhardt's protectionist trade message has apparently spread well with industrial workers in the state. Geyhardt, a Texas Chronicle poll put him in third place behind Jackson and Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis—with 15 per cent of the vote. Jackson, with 20 per cent, appears to have the solid backing of the black community. But black support is only 13 per cent of the vote. The second place Jackson is now trying to win support among university students and urban white liberals. At the same time Dukakis—the overall Democratic front-runner, who scored 89 per cent in the Chronicle poll—is concentrating on the rural and downstate Valley, where he has been endorsed by many of the Hispanic insiders who dominate the local political scene.

Hard-line. As in most of the northern Super Tuesday states, the greatest uncertainty hangs over Sen. Al Gore's prospects in the South. In the northern and Midwestern primaries, Gore concentrated on campaigning as a regional favorite son in the South. His hard-line foreign policy positions are shared by many Texas Democrats, and he has been party to a number of "Gore-buster" single fund-raising dinners in Dallas that south raised almost \$1 million. But some of Gore's supporters say that they fear he may already have been left behind, and the Chronicle's analysis of the polls shows that the Democratic primary vote. Ross George Strong, Gore's campaign co-ordinator in Houston, admitted last week that he has hedged his bets by making donations to the rival Gephardt and Dukakis

Such intolerance may be no more than a reflection of the diversity that lies deep in the heart of present-day Texas. And as Kevin Moore, *Buck's* Texas political director, put it: "The one thing every candidate has to do to get the Hollywood Texans out of their minds if they put the cowboy boots and hat on as they cross the state line they mustn't fail anybody." It sounded like a warning, which all the presidential hopefuls—especially those from the North—may listen to carefully.

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Students' studies in Japan focused on a candidate's work.

A SON OF THE NEW SOUTH



Thirty years ago the Sterling High school football team and its star quarterback, Jesse Jackson, regularly played into a school bus for the 60-km trip through the Appalachian Mountains to Asheville, N.C. Jackson's team, the 11th in the state in Asheville, was all black. The restaurants, public washrooms, water fountains, movie theaters and subway depots in both towns were segregated. And economic, political and legal power in both communities was held exclusively by whites. Last week Jackson returned to Asheville as a Democratic contender for the presidency of the United States.

Reacts As his motorcycle was escorted down town by policemen of both races, Jackson conferred with his media secretary, Elizabeth Colton, a daughter of a white Asheville family. And before the candidate visited students at Asheville's modern integrated high school, he was praised as a founding member by white Republican Mayor Louis Rueter. But Jackson, 36, in a real sense, lives in the new South—black and white coming together.

Indeed, despite remaining racial tensions, it is clear that the civil rights movement in which Jackson has been a longtime activist, has brought about dramatic changes. But Jackson, in his second bid for the Democratic nomination, says that the movement's civil rights triumphs have not been matched by economic gains. Leading "the new South's syndicalism," Jackson told campaign crowds, "We who are dark must look beyond symbolism and face new challenges."

The challenges for Jackson on Super Tuesday will be to broaden his base of support. His two primary victories in the 1984 race were in areas with large black populations: Washington, D.C., and Louisiana. His black support has grown since 1984, most analysts say, and Jackson's goal is to add the votes of poor whites, farmers, liberals and students. His second-place showing last week in Minnesota's Democratic caucus—a

state where blacks make up only one per cent of the population—along with his earlier success in largely white Iowa, have given Jackson's campaign civil-bid-ity. But if his dream of becoming the first black president is to be fulfilled, he will have to win a string of victories on March 8.

In both white and black political circles, Jackson arouses much controversy. But even his harshest critics concede that the Chicago-based Baptist minister is the most persuasive orator of all the

poor people were not unemployed, but underpaid, not black, but female and white. Said Jackson: "Just because they were on tables in this hotel, a lot of bread isn't cheaper for them."

Control: The solution to the problems of the working poor, Jackson says, is an increase in the minimum wage. However, he does not point out that most workers are subject to state minimum-wage regulations, over which the president has only limited control. Jackson also says that corporations, rather than



The exhortation of Jesse Jackson, N.C., a persuasive orator seeking a broader base of support.

presidential contenders. The trademark of his speeches is a steadily rising pitch. At the start, Jackson's voice is barely audible. By the end, his face is often drenched in sweat. The one word, three-syllable, his voice booms, conveys a powerful impression—but the power is not showmanship alone.

Themes: Even at fund-raising functions, such as last week's lunch in Asheville, Jackson does not shy from making sense in his audience uncomfortable. He emphasizes three main themes: stronger border patrols to keep illegal drugs out of the country, a program to discourage U.S. corporations from moving factories overseas, and the need for a higher minimum wage. In Asheville, he told his largely middle-class audience that most

seeking short-term profits, should build companies over long periods.

His message has not won support from many labor leaders. But many Americans, both black and white, who are sympathetic to Jackson's views, are reluctant to support him—in particular, many liberal Jews who might otherwise give him their vote. During the 1984 campaign, a Washington Post article mentioned that, in a private conversation, Jackson had referred to Jews as "Hymans" and New York City as "Hymansville." As controversy erupted, Jackson stood by silently while Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan warned the Jewish community: "If you harm this brother [Jackson], it will be the last one you harm."

After a three-week appearance, Jackson finally apologized for his remarks but refused to discuss Farrakhan's. Despite attempts by Jackson to repair the damage, a rift remains between him and some members of the Jewish community.

Higher: His relations with other black leaders have also been uneven. Jackson became a member of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) after taking part in a 1966 civil rights march on Selma, Ala. But Jackson grew apart from the star following King's assassination in 1968. He later claimed to have cradled the dying civil rights leader in his arms and to have heard his final words.

But all the others present when King was shot at a Memphis, Tenn., motel insist that the Rev. Ralph Abernathy held the dying King in his final moments. Their dismay over Jackson's claim was aggravated when, he addressed the Chicago riots covered the day after the killing wearing a sweater that he claimed was stained with King's blood.

Reacts: In 1984 many black leaders distanced themselves from Jackson and endorsed Walter Mondale, who boasted a long record of supporting civil rights.

Although some black leaders remain uncommitted, Jackson appears to have more of their support than in the past. About half the 25 black members of Congress have already endorsed him. So have a number of black mayors. Among the holdouts in Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young. One of his concerns is shared by critics of all races: Jackson has never held elected office. Said Young last fall: "The trouble with Jesse is that he isn't never run nothing but his mouth."

Jackson's campaign staff members say that he has gained political experience through community organizing. In 1971 Jackson finally



Poor white family in Arkansas: 'a lot of bread isn't cheaper for them.'

broke his tie with the SCLC and set up his own organization, now called People United to Serve Humanity (Operation PUSH). Seventeen years later the group's record reflects both Jackson's weaknesses and strengths. Its successes have come from campaigns that rely on Jackson's personal negotiating skills. Jeffrey Campbell, the chairman of the Playboy Club's restaurant division, which introduced the Burger King fast-food restaurant chain, was clearly skeptical about Jackson before they first met in 1983.

But Jackson argued so persuasively

that Burger King should return something to the black community, that Campbell agreed to join cost in a \$400-million minority-appealing program. Said Campbell:

"Twenty years from now when I go back and think of the things I'm proud of at Burger King, one of them will be the impact we were able to make through this covenant."

Programs: But the daily operations of most of its educational programs and its facilities are controversial. A 1976 study for the U.S. government found that much of the education program was "minutely paper." The department of education is demanding a refund of \$1.2 million in grant money that it contends PUSH could not account for. That demand, as well

as other debts, has left PUSH \$1 million in the red.

Still, Jackson has accumulated similar herds before. In 1984, despite major organizational and financial difficulties, he arrived at the Democratic convention in third place. This time around, Jackson led in many national opinion polls that predicted the primaries. Even if he does not serve with a winning number of delegates at the city convention, Jackson's support will probably give him a powerful bargaining role.

Last year in a television interview Jackson broke with tradition and said that he would give "serious consideration" to accepting the vice-presidential slot if he failed to win his party's presidential nomination. He now brushes off that reply, insisting that he is in the race to win. But in the end, Jackson's fate will hinge on whether the United States is ready to elect a black president. While his populist beliefs and oratorical skills draw applause from audiences of all races, Super Tuesday may show whether whites, Hispanics and others are willing to turn their backs into votes for the fiery preacher.



Georgia cotton picker: a traditional occupation in a changing society.

—IAN ALLEN in Asheville

HANDS ACROSS THE BORDER



Although President Ronald Reagan has made free trade a central policy of his administration, the recently signed free trade agreement between Canada and the United States has not often been a topic of discussion in the current race for the presidential nomination. In recent weeks, Macdonald has canvassed the views of the leading presidential hopefuls on the deal. Receipts from their remarks:

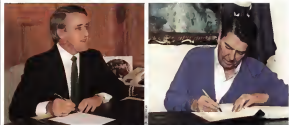
Vice-President George Bush (Republican)

Senator Robert Dole (Republican) through his campaign chairman, William Brock, a former U.S. trade representative. "In terms of the treaty itself, he supports it aggressively. It is a step forward for both countries. But he has some areas where he would like to see some improvement before it goes to Congress." Asked to specify what these areas were, Brock could not.

Senator Paul Simon (Democrat) "That is the kind of bilateral agreement we ought to be working out with Japan, Taiwan and our other international trading partners. GATT [the General

Marion (Pat) Robertson (Republican) "I have been strongly in favor of some kind of a common-market relationship between Canada and the United States—and possibly Mexico. We [and Canada] share the same heritage, the same way of life and the same culture and traditions, so I think that [the accord] is a wonderful thing. A free trade agreement is the equivalent virtually of a common market. In the long run, it will help everybody."

Senator Albert Gore (Democrat) "It's a breakthrough. It's a step forward toward a more natural and pos-



Signing the trade pact, Mulroney (left), and Reagan: general approval from the presidential contenders

ition.) "Economic growth is now as much a matter of foreign policy as it is economic policy. We should build on the achievement of our free trade zone with Canada and work with our other neighbor, Mexico, to create a free trade zone of unprecedented size, a new North American compact. Protectionism simply benefits some industries at the expense of the rest of the economy. Protectionist measures would expose us to retaliation and an all-out trade war, which nobody can win."

Gov. Michael Dukakis (Democrat) "I think it's the right way to move. I don't have any reservations about it, but I know there are a great many people in Canada who do, and I hope we can win it out in a way that makes sense to both sides. I'm in favor of bringing down barriers by mutually negotiated kinds of agreements, step by step. Things to be gradual and it has to be phased."

Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) is just too cumbersome. Now, my state, Illinois, is a big printing state, and you have a tariff of 30 per cent on our catalogues. But there are things better worked out by two nations on a bilateral basis."

Representative Jack Kemp (Republican) "I think the free trade zone with Canada is absolutely essential. I think we should expand it all the way down to Mexico."

Representative Richard Gephardt (Democrat) "The Canada-U.S. trade treaty is a model of what we can achieve when we complain broadly about unfair trade practices. More is for protecting American markets. Every one is for getting markets to open. Our sweet experience with Canada is only the latest example of how tough negotiations are required to remove barriers in the name of free and fair trade."

clusive trading relationship between two longtime friends. There is, of course, strong opposition on both sides of the border. But I tend to favor it, pending closer scrutiny when the issue comes to the Senate floor. I think it will be approved. I hope it's approved in Canada."

Rev. Jesse Jackson (Democrat) "I'm not fully prepared to address it yet. I'm fundamentally not for protectionism. I'm for free trade, but fair trade. Some of these agreements have hurt themselves to corporations profiting, but not workers working. I have an interest in forming a proper trade agreement with Mexico as well. One idea I've been promoting is a Pan-American energy alliance—Canada, Mexico, the United States, South America. A hemispheric energy policy for hemispheric energy security." □

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A daring campaign to end a revolt

Widespread skepticism surrounded a five-day Middle East peace summit launched last week by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. The Israeli coalition government was severely divided on an American plan for Palestinian self-government in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Palestinian representatives refused to meet Shultz. And even his own officials acknowledged that the odds were heavily against him. Still, Shultz said that he was determined to press on. "You can't be too afraid of failing," he said. "So support I go and I don't succeed. What am I losing myself for?"

As Shultz began his trip, the skepticism appeared to be well justified. After a 24-hour meeting with the U.S. envoy, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shazar said that he was adamantly opposed to a key part of the American plan: a proposal for an international conference on the Middle East. Meanwhile, Palestinians expressed their anger over the American initiative with a wave of violence and strikes. Despite a formidable show of strength by police and soldiers, demonstrators broke out in villages and towns throughout the occupied territories.

The Palestinian unrest, now three months old, has created a new sense of urgency in Washington about finding peace in the Middle East. Since its disastrous military involvement in Lebanon in the early 1980s, the United States had largely stayed out of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. But U.S. officials now clearly believe that the roots, the cause of widespread concern in the United States, have created an opening for a settlement. Referring to the violence, which had claimed 73 Palestinian lives by the end of last week, Shultz said that the present situation could not be allowed to continue. "The time is right together to make decisions of historic importance," he said on his arrival in Israel. "I am convinced that I am bringing with me a workable proposal."

Shultz is proposing an international conference on the Middle East followed

by negotiations on Palestinian self-rule. According to Israeli newspaper reports last week, the conference could take one of three possible forms: a full-fledged United Nations conference, a meeting of Middle Eastern countries under the auspices of the United States and the Soviet Union or a mixture of the two. Israeli King Haiman of Jordan and Israeli foreign minister, Shimon Peres, both favor an international conference. But Prime Minister Shazar, Peres's right-wing partner in Israel's uneasy governing coalition, is against any conference that would include the Soviets.

Shultz also reportedly wants a three-

month Palestinian nationalistic expressed equal opposition to the U.S. initiative, which they said was an attempt to obscure their goal of an independent state. Under orders from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), they refused to meet Shultz, a stand that drew criticism from moderate Israelis who are in favor of a settlement. Said the English-Jerusalem *Evening Post*: "[The PLO] just cannot afford to miss another historic opportunity by sticking to its time-honored all-or-nothing approach."

Anticipating trouble during Shultz's visit, Israeli authorities sent 1,500 soldiers



Palestinians being escorted to ambulance after clash with Israeli soldiers; an explosion blew up a U.S. peace plan

year interim period during which the Palestinians would enjoy limited self-rule, while talks began—probably before the end of this year—on the final status of the territories. Israeli newspaper said the proposal included a freeze on Jewish settlements in the territories and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from towns and cities. The troops could be replaced by a joint Palestinian-Israeli-Jordanian police force and administration.

While Peres said that Shultz had brought some "workable proposals," Shazar insisted that the Israeli government would never act because of riots and demonstrations on the West Bank. "If we try to work under pressure, this will be interpreted by the PLO as a victory," spokesman for Shazar quoted the prime minister as having told Shultz.

police into Arab East Jerusalem and imposed curfews in Gaza Strip refugee camps. But violence broke out even before the arrival of the U.S. secretary of state. At midnight, in the first incident of its kind since the unrest began, a mob in the West Bank village of Qabatiya, 75 km north of Jerusalem, lynched a fellow Palestinian who had spent for the Israeli intelligence service, Shin Bet. When hundreds of angry residents marched on the house of Muhammad Ayub, he opened fire from the roof with an Israeli-made Uzi submachinegun, killing a four-year-old boy and injuring 13 other villagers. When his ammunition ran out, the crowd stormed the house, burned it and hanged him from a utility pole.

Although the most spectacular, the Qabatiya killing was only one of sever-

al violent accidents. In a 13-year-old boy was killed when soldiers opened fire on a stone-throwing mob. In the village of Ilaga al Shariya, a 15-year-old girl was shot and killed in an incident that allegedly involved Israeli settlers, one of whom was detained for questioning. On Friday, the day after Shultz's arrival, demonstrators poured out of West Bank mosques after prayers and attacked Israeli troops with rocks and firebombs. Poor Palestinians were killed, two by Israeli gunfire, and dozens were injured.

Some of the most pointed criticism of the Israeli's methods of trying to control the uprising emerged from within the government itself. Claiming that his office had been flooded with reports of excesses by Israeli troops, Attorney General Yosef Harash reminded Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin in writing that it was illegal for soldiers to beat demonstrators after they had been arrested.

While the violence added tension to Shultz's visit, some observers said that it also offered him an opportunity. "We have learned from the past that only in a situation where the status quo has been destroyed has a political process toward peace been possible," said Investigative Minister Shazar Tsori, a member of Peres's Labor Party. Observers said that to succeed, Shultz would first have to bridge the gap between the two halves of the Israeli government. But the differences between Peres and Shazar were so deep that Shultz met them separately. And Arab leaders—chiefly fearing that the Israelis and Americans were trying to placate the Palestinians with permanent and severely limited autonomy—were insisting on a swift, long-term solution. During his stay in the region, Shultz was planning trips to talk to Arab leaders in Cairo, Amman and Damascus. But Palestinian spokesmen said that only the PLO was authorized to negotiate on their behalf.

Still, Middle East experts said that Shultz was determined to make progress. "George Shultz is rather like a surgeon," said Geoffrey Kemp, a Middle East scholar with Washington's Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "He is difficult to get moving, but once he is moving he gathers his own momentum." Although he has only barely arrived at a settlement, said Kemp, Shultz might succeed in "tying over" each of the parties and discovering where ground for a future compromise might lie. In the difficult atmosphere of the Middle East, even that would be an important achievement.

—MARCUS-REE with REAG BILVER in Jerusalem and WILLIAM LOWTAGE in Washington



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SOUTH AFRICA

An order for silence

Even anti-apartheid activists accustomed to government restrictions appeared stunned. In a harsh new crackdown on its opponents, the South African government last week announced restrictions prohibiting 17 anti-apartheid organizations from carrying on or performing any acts whatsoever. The government also forbade the 800,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions—the country's largest labor federation—from taking part in any political activity. And 15 leading activists were placed under personal restraint, which included a ban on media

the government had a responsibility to "ensure the safety of the public." Law and Order Minister Adrian J. Vlok said that the regulations would aid "stability, personal, community and good neighborhoods among all population groups." But some observers suggested that the decree had a secondary purpose: to toughen the government's image and improve its chances against the country's increasingly popular extreme right-wing parties in close by-election contests this week.

International condemnation was swift—and harsh. Canadian External



Kelly rightly and USF leader Rev. Alan Borsari: a country 'at the crossroads'

Minister, Paul De Maré, a spokesman for the non-restricted multi-national Detainees' Parents Support Committee. "The lights are going out in South Africa, and, with them, the last vestiges of freedom to resist the suffocating tentacles of apartheid."

The measures were the latest in a long list of restrictions introduced since the government declared a state of emergency 28 months ago. Among the organizations affected by the new decree was the nearly three-million-member United Democratic Front—the country's largest anti-apartheid organization. The African National Congress, which is waging a guerrilla campaign against the sports-banned regime, has been illegal since 1960 and has its headquarters in neighboring Swaziland.

Among those placed under personal restriction were United Democratic Front co-president Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Albertina Sisulu. Claiming that

African Minister Joe Clark, head of a non-member Commonwealth committee asking ways of pressuring South Africa to dismantle apartheid, condemned the "draconian" regulations. Excluded Clark in a written statement: "The restrictions will further limit peaceful legal activities in opposition to a system of institutionalized racism which is unacceptable." And British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, whose government has repeatedly opposed sanctions against South Africa, declared Britain to be "totally opposed to repressive measures of this kind."

In Cape Town, Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu delivered a dramatic message: "White South Africans must realize that they are at the crossroads," he warned. "If they do not stop this government soon—and there is not much hope that they will—we are heading for war."

—FREDERICK HOFFMAN

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A dismissal misfires

It was a bold act by an essentially powerless man. Last Thursday President Eric Arturo Delvalle of Panama announced that he was using his constitutional power to dismiss the country's top military official, Gen. Blasius Astudillo Noriega. Widely regarded as the country's real leader, Noriega was indicted in Miami and Tampa in February on drug trafficking charges. But top officers in the Panama Defense Forces (PDF) refused to back Delvalle's

officials began supporting efforts by Delvalle to oust Noriega. Throughout last Friday, Noriega received intelligence briefings on the situation in Panama and he cancelled his usual weekend at Camp David in Maryland. But Noriega ruled out military action to remove Noriega, telling reporters, "We have not come up with any answers yet."

The indictments against Noriega, issued by the Florida grand juries, allege



Delvalle with supporter: a "democratic" chairman in the legislature.

action. And a few hours later Panama's legislature voted to oust him in principle. A clearly defeated Delvalle described the legislature's decision as "legally dangerous" and said it had been perpetrated by "those who want to go down just as they go up."

The latest upheaval in Panama was a further setback to U.S. efforts to isolate Noriega. Under a 1979 treaty, the United States retains control of the 15-mile Panama Canal until 1999, and its 10,000 troops will remain in the country until then. Observers say that the Reagan administration quickly tolerated Noriega since he took control of the PDF in 1983. But relations began to deteriorate following anti-Noriega demonstrations in Panama last June. Then, after the Florida indictments, administration

that he conspired with Colombian drug dealers to ship more than 4,000 lb. of cocaine and one million pounds of marijuana through Panama to the United States. For those crimes, he is alleged to have received \$5.8 million from U.S. attorney Leon Kellner in Miami. "Noriega walked his position to the very doorstep of Panama to the drug traffickers."

But the indictments represented only a small part of the accusations against Noriega. In two days of testimony before a Senate subcommittee last month, former Panamanian diplomat and Noriega adviser José I. Blandino accused the general of turning the entire country into a "criminal empire." According to Blandino's testimony, Noriega is the wealthiest man in Panama, with a net worth

of a fleet of expensive European autos and assets valued at as high as \$700 million. The Reagan administration denied any direct role in Delvalle's attempt to fire Noriega. But Delvalle met for several hours with U.S. officials in Panama City before making his announcement. Washington sources said that analysts from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency were among those who spoke with Delvalle. In a taped speech broadcast over Panamanian television, Delvalle said that the charges against Noriega had caused "great damage" to Panama's image. The president then announced that Col. Marcos Justinian, the second-ranking member of the PDF, would replace Noriega.

But Delvalle's plan quickly came unravelled, exposing his lack of support among the country's ruling elite. First, Justinian publicly refused to accept the appointment. Then, two senior PDF officers went on television to declare that the military remained loyal to Noriega and that no officer would replace the general. Said Col. Leonidas Muñoz, "He [Delvalle] is going fast."

In the small hours of Friday morning, the legislature held a 15-minute emergency session to pass a resolution removing Delvalle and Vice-President Blandino. Required. The resolution, approved unanimously by the 38 members present in the 67-seat assembly, accused Delvalle of spurning the law in removing Noriega. The resolution also said that the president had encouraged U.S. intervention in Panama's affairs.

In a telephone interview with the Atlanta-based Cable News Network on Friday morning, Delvalle said that he was staying in Panama and still considered himself the legal president. A series of civil and business leaders was being forced to support him, he said, and a national industrial strike was being planned. Delvalle said that he did not want outside military help. "The assistance we seek is the recognition of any puppet government that they want to install."

Meanwhile, state department spokesman Phyllis Oakley said that the United States would continue to recognize President Delvalle. Two senators, New York Republican Alfonse D'Amato and Massachusetts Democrat John Kerry, called for economic sanctions. But other Senate sources warned that a potentially explosive situation could develop if Noriega turned to Cuba or other Communist regimes for help. The United States would be compelled to intervene with military force, said the sources. That was an option everyone seemed to be trying to avoid.

—DANIEL JENNIFER with WILLIAM LOVATHE in Washington



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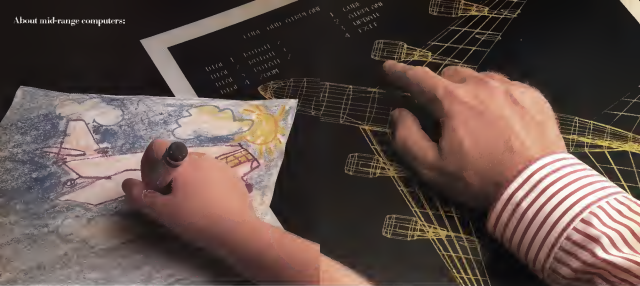
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The lure of western gold

For the Toronto Stock Exchange and that city's financial community, the 1982 discovery of the huge Hemlo gold deposits in northwestern Ontario represented an extraordinary event. The two companies responsible were based on the Vancouver Stock Exchange and had raised their exploration money in Vancouver. Since the Hemlo affair, the TSE has waged an aggressive and successful campaign to list the best VSE companies in Toronto. And the Ontario Securities Commission has adopted a new policy, effective April 1, which will make it easier to raise money in Ontario for high-risk mining ventures. Now, some leading Vancouver brokers contend that, unless the VSE keeps going, it risks losing its position as North America's premier resource-capital market. Said Peter Brown, chairman of Vancouver-based Canam Investment Corp. Ltd. "We are losing the best of our business."

Officials at both the TSE and the VSE acknowledge that an increasing eastward migration of stock-exchange listings has occurred. They add that it is junior resource companies upward they have generally moved to the larger market in Toronto. But Jerome Ballard, the TSE's director of regional listings, said the exchange has also pursued specific Vancouver companies. But some members of the Vancouver brokerage industry admit that the TSE regularly sends staff members west on recruiting missions. At the same time, said Canam's Brown, the VSE is contributing to its own downfall with an excessive number of unnecessary and obsolete regulations and staff shortages. The vice, he said, has become the slowest stock exchange in the country to approve new company listings and stock offerings.

As the competition between Toronto and Vancouver has intensified over the past four years, the VSE has lost more than 300 listings to the TSE. The Vancouver exchange still lists about 3,500 companies, including a record 367 new listings last year. By comparison, the

TSE lists 1,200 companies and accepted 365 new listings in 1987. But Brown, whose company has dominated both the trading and the underwriting businesses in Vancouver for 18 years, told Maclean's that the TSE has taken the VSE's best companies and is now recruiting smaller firms. Said Brown, "We run the risk of being the exchange of listings nobody wants."

Brown added that, until recently, the VSE has not even officially recognized the threat from the TSE and other exchanges. A junior company trying to raise money in Vancouver or which is just listing an prospect to wait as long as three months, he said, because the exchange has become overwhelmed with trying to enforce an unwieldy number of arcane and obsolete rules. By comparison, he said, a company can get both a listing and financing in Toronto or Montreal within a month to six weeks. As a result, the VSE's former dominance over the speculative financing market is quickly eroding. Said Brown, "A lot of bureaucratic baggage has alienated our client base."



Vancouver Stock Exchange: intense competition and a hard sell from the TSE

As the VSE has slipped, the TSE has been advancing. Listings director Richard said that the exchange holds a cocktail reception in Vancouver once a year for alien companies, their financial advisers and securities-industry lawyers. The listing department sends a delegation west at least three times a year to meet lawyers whose clients may be interested in a TSE listing.

Still, some Vancouver mining com-

panies claim that they have experienced a loss of sales from the TSE. Said Frank Lang, a partner in the Hagen-Lang Group, which controlled the two companies responsible for the Hemlo discovery. "Certainly, we have been under tremendous pressure from the TSE to list many of our stocks on the Toronto exchange," Brown added that, when Van-

cover promoter Morris Perin visited Toronto recently, an exchange official phoned his hotel at 8 p.m. to discuss listing his companies on the TSE. And Mike Woods, editor of a daily newsletter called Stockwatch, which monitors all announcements affecting TSE companies, said the Toronto exchange has begun listing junior companies at an

earlier stage. The TSE used to wait until a company had almost completed a development program and was ready to begin production. But over the past couple of years the TSE has started its companies even before they had finished exploring a property. Said Woods, "We are losing the 800 stocks and replacing them with 45-centers."

The Vancouver exchange faces a new threat. From the Ontario Securities Commission policy on financing junior mining ventures. Under the current rules, fees and commissions paid to securities firms, lawyers, promoters and accountants frequently amount up to 76 per cent of the proceeds from a public offering. By April 1990, maximum commissions will be cut to 38 per cent of the offering. As well, the cut will allow a company to sell shares publicly after it has raised at least \$50,000 privately and spent the money on exploration. Said Bruce Schmitt, a Toronto lawyer and mining expert: "The discovery of some tremendous ore bodies, particularly Hemlo, by companies that were financed in Western Canada has been an embarrassment in Ontario."

The new cut policy is widely viewed in Vancouver as an attempt by Ontario to capture some of the high-risk financing that has been attracted almost exclusively through the VSE. James Macle, the VSE's manager of finance and listings, said that the OSE policy is almost identical to the rules that apply in British Columbia. Said Macle: "The whole system they're proposing has to be very convincing to us as an exchange. It's obviously a very serious move. The same market participants." But VSE chairman John Matthews said that junior mining companies will still be better served by the Vancouver exchange. He added that SEC regulations already stipulate that 70 per cent to 75 per cent of the money must be used for exploration.

Despite the criticism directed at the VSE—largely from some of its own members—Matthews insists that the exchange has tried to solve some of the problems that were causing delays. He said that applications for new public offerings and listings are now being approved within two months provided a prospectus is properly prepared. He added that the loss of VSE listings to Toronto has always occurred as companies grew and needed access to larger pools of capital. But Canam's Brown does not accept that explanation. He said that the VSE will have to respond to the new competitive environment in Toronto and other exchanges. Otherwise, said Brown, Vancouver's days as North America's leading venture capital market are over.

—DARCY JENSEN with FRANK O'DRISIN in Vancouver

Capital for Communists

When venture capitalists need money they frequently turn to the Vancouver Stock Exchange. There, high-wired promoters often hand-sell a concept to inflate share prices and take advantage of investors. As a result, the exchange is an unlikely place to find a Communist Chinese firm. But on March 11 a subsidiary of China Everbright Holdings Co. Ltd., a mammoth China-owned corporation, will sign an agreement with Van-listed Enghus Marine Systems Inc. of San Diego, taking it to the VSE. In the process, said Dariusz director David Dale, "we are going to learn a lot about each other."

China Everbright was incorporated in Hong Kong on May 15, 1985. The Chinese government owned it to provide training for young executives in Hong Kong's intensely capitalist economy, and to gain expertise to create high-tech industries abroad and at home. To that end, Everbright has established business relations with more than 2,840 financial, industrial and commercial interests around the world. It also operates more than 30 subsidiaries, including Jamaica Digital Corp., which is based in China near Hong Kong. Dariusz will take a 30-per cent interest in Enghus, and the Chinese firm has taken a significant ownership position in Dariusz. Company officials say the Canadian firm has not presented its tech to Everbright, but they add that when the Chinese investment community realizes the enormous size of its silent partner,

Dariusz shares will rise in sales.

That would make Dariusz's association with Enghus and Everbright highly lucrative. Part of Everbright's mandate is to import technology into China—and Hong Kong, which will revert from British to Chinese control in 1997. As a result, Dariusz will supply the technology for a new computer disk drive, and Enghus will provide the cheap manpower to manufacture it in China. That will enable Enghus and Dariusz to undercut much of their competition.

Dale said that, ultimately, a man-



Dale: lucrative deal

facturing plant will be built in China, but for now the company plans to assemble the drives in the Vancouver area. Dale said Everbright will also fulfill its training obligations because the firm's executives will get a firsthand look at the way and its venture capitalists. Although Dale said that the Chinese have not specifically targeted the VSE for that purpose, he added that the agreement with Enghus introduces the Chinese to the complexities of Canadian joint-venture financing. And as they are, they will also be introduced to the volatile workings of the VSE. D

Spotlighting initiative

Theresa Leopold (Caribide) Williams, a torch of the century Ottawa investor and entrepreneur, likely would have approved A century ago, Williams turned his ideas for generating electricity and producing acetylene gas from calcium carbide into a tidy fortune, one that allowed him in 1897 to build the rustic stone lodge, now known as William House, which overlooks March Lake, north of Ottawa. Last August 28 academics, businessmen and bureaucrats gathered in William House—now a government retreat and the site of many celebrated conferences—to discuss modern entrepreneurship. That talk provided the basis for Bernard Valcourt, minister of state for small business, to develop a proposal for a national entrepreneurship policy. This week, Valcourt is scheduled to lay the proposal before his cabinet colleagues. If it wins their approval, it could be proclaimed this spring.

Documents obtained by *Maclean's* indicate that Valcourt will propose a package of initiatives. The cost, \$206 million over five years, \$58 million of which would come from allocations made to existing programs

As part of the package, the government's Federal Business Development Bank, an agency which provides advice and some financial aid for business, would be reformed toward new and emerging businesses—particularly outside large cities and in poorer regions—and be renamed the Federal Enterprise Development

The focus on research and education underlines widespread concern that entrepreneurship is poorly understood

Bank, or FedBank. Valcourt is also proposing that the government highlight the role of the entrepreneur by taking an annual report on the state of entrepreneurship and small business in Canada, with the first report due in May. But a key component of the proposed policy would be a new, privately run, nonprofit National Institute for Entrepreneurship. The institute would co-ordinate research,

develop curricula for teaching entrepreneurial skills at colleges and schools, and act as a clearinghouse for information.

The focus of research and education underlines widespread concern among academics and bureaucrats that the phenomenon of entrepreneurship, while vital to the economy, is poorly understood. Federal statistics indicate that entrepreneurs and the small businesses that they create are becoming increasingly important. Of 825,000 companies in Canada in 1985, 812,000 had fewer than 100 employees, and most had fewer than 20 employees. Firms with fewer than 100 employees provide about 48 per cent of all jobs in Canada—but between 1978 and 1985, they created 86 per cent of all new jobs. A confidential government analysis concluded that a "new wave" of small business "is the real engine of growth and employment."

Indeed, academics and government leaders from California to Sweden now accept that fact, and are groping for ways to nurture entrepreneurs and small businesses. In Canada, the Ontario government announced plans in November to set up its centre to teach the required skills through community colleges and universities. At the University of Calgary, an entrepreneurial studies program has spawned

several successful businesses and helped dozens more. But, many teachers say that they are just scratching the surface. Added Ron Peterson, director of entrepreneurial studies at York University in Toronto: "We used to think that entrepreneurs were inspired visionaries, like Olympic athletes. Now we recognize that entrepreneurs, like athletes, need to be trained."

But deep-seated prejudices persist. Said Donald Eastcott, managing director of the Canadian Organization of Small Business: "Students are taught that you become a doctor or lawyer if you are smart, and a plumber or truck driver if you are not. Nobody talks about starting a business." Added Chris Kozlowski, proprietor of two successful services and handicraft businesses in Labrador: "People think that if you're in business, you're a crook. That attitude has to change."

As well, entrepreneurs claim that bankers are frequently unwilling to lend them money to start businesses. The problem is particularly acute, among women, even though the ben-

efits they create have a much healthier record of survival than firms begun by men. Said Linda Wells, owner of The Lost World-It, a toy store in downtown Toronto: "I



Wells: the real engine of growth and employment

ran from banker to banker with the paperwork and a projected cash flow in my hands, but they would not listen." A bank finally loaned Wells \$10,000, but only after she secured a federal loan guarantee.

One document obtained by *Maclean's* states that few Canadians, including executives of large corporations, "understand the importance of entrepreneurship to Canada's well-being." It adds, "Canadians 30 years ago did not understand the importance of good health and exercise until the Participation program brought about a fundamental change in attitude." The document also says that "it is essential to make entrepreneurship an explicit, high profile element of government policy." Anything less "would fall short of public, private and academic expectations."

Valcourt, an Airds lawyer from northwestern New Brunswick, has done much to raise those expectations. Conservative officials say that the 36-year-old minister is highly regarded by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the rest of the cabinet. If he can convince his colleagues to accept his proposal, it will almost certainly become government policy before the next election.

—MARK CLARK — Ottawa

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Derring-do with a conscience

By Peter C. Newman

When he landed on Feb. 22 at Vancouver International Airport, 47 hours, 43 minutes and 26 seconds after he had left the same coast to fly around the world, Edgar Kaiser had set 23,614 miles and set six new speed records for the size of aircraft (a British-built Aerospace 800) that he and his two copilot had been flying. As a result, he became the first ever-copilot to set a round-the-world record when Howard Hughes did it in 1931, 1938.

One purpose of the journey was to collect funds for Kaiser's favorite philanthropy, the Kaiser Substance Abuse Foundation, which he and his wife Judy had set up just over two years ago to help prevent drug abuse by the Pacific province's youngsters. More than \$180,000 in pledges have been received for the fight, but immediately after he returned, Kaiser was more interested in the psychological implications. "The real issue was not raising money but raising people's consciousness," he told me. "If the kids we're trying to reach with our program can visualize a middle-aged man going around the world and all that that entails, they know what can be done by staying healthy and not getting on drugs. That's really what made the trip important."

Kaiser shares an creative philanthropy. He has already given more than \$1 million into the foundation to "buy-out the collective demand" of alcoholism and misuse of drugs by British Columbia's adolescents. The focus is on prevention. At the 1991/1992 stage, Kaiser declared, "helping create rebuilding of a better, smarter and last time for those in therapy. That's the high-cost way to deal with the problem. If you explain about drugs and alcohol abuse in the context of an unbalanced value system, particularly in part of the population—there's the efficient way to go."

The foundation's main project at the moment is to help develop and establish a drug education program in British Columbia's primary schools from kindergarten to Grade 7 (the fall of 1993). Said Ross Runney, the professional ad-director expert hired to run the foundation: "We believe prevention efforts should be focused on people, not on substances. The emphasis must be on people's responsibilities—both students, not on their disabilities and addictions." British Columbia should be fertile territory for the Kaiser mission. A 1992 survey

showed that of the province's youngsters aged 14 and under 66 per cent had smoked, 57 per cent had drunk alcohol, 35 per cent had used cannabis, 35 per cent had smoked glue, seven per cent had tried cocaine, and two per cent had used heroin. Runney added that a 1987 B.C. ministry of health survey bore out the previous data, and emphasized that children are dealing at an earlier age whether to try these substances.

The former chairman of the Bank of



Kaiser-funding a favorite philanthropy

British Columbia, Kaiser is a rare bird, even among the high-flying acquaintances who visit on Canada's Pacific coast. The son and grandson of married U.S. aviators (his Kainers owned major steel, coal and aluminum interests, building most of the U.S. Second World War Liberty ships), he took out his Canadian citizenship in 1960 and has since turned over at least five fortunes in various resource ventures. Edgar rarely dwells himself in projects that do not link his affinity for physical adventure with his

propensity for risk. He is one of those rare derring-do entrepreneurs who believe that a man deserves himself by looking away from any challenge—even if it is self-imposed. "I realize that my round-the-world trip wouldn't have much appeal to someone like the chief executive officer of General Electric," he told me just after he landed. "That it does appeal to the kids I am trying to reach as an adventure they can identify with."

Kaiser wears hard and plays hard. The round-the-worlder for now was only the latest of his exploits. He is a chess-players' star, sailor and gourmet, and he recently piloted his own yacht, the Calliope, up the Amazon. (The vessel's communication equipment is so sophisticated that it has its own crew deck.)

On the business side, of his insurer, Kaiser has been investing in such leading-edge enterprises as fish farms and the marketing of glucose ice—to make drinks more exotic. The company in which he owns a big interest, Aquarius in San Pedro, will sell the market with 600 tons of cultured salmon, shipped live and destined for luxury restaurants in Canada and the United States. With 11 farms, it is already the largest integrator of fish producer in the country, but Kaiser's innovation does not stop there. He says he is convinced that careful development of the industry could turn the Pacific province into the world's best pleasure-seeking destination. "I can visualize the provincial dream getting bags of fish into Campbell River, for example," he said, referring to a midsize fishing town on Vancouver Island's east coast, "with a full-scale jet stop to accommodate Americans and Japanese coming by the sea-lane to enjoy the sport."

Kaiser's next staff of 30, led by an ad-director finance expert named John Thomas, has agreed to purchase up to 22 per cent of his Air Inc., a company pledged to exporting "the purchase of aircraft" from northern British Columbia as well as one million shares of Alcoa Industries Corp., which recycles household wastes. The latest recruit is Theresa Horvath, the former president of British Columbia Telephone Co., who has been hired to organize Kaiser's new aircraft banking venture.

Edgar Kaiser is one of a kind, and his next venture—he is rumored to be organizing a Florida One morning from an Aztec car telephone—will stimulate his capacities and his nerve even further. Right in line with his persona (and his foundation's credo, "I am—I am.")

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Consolidated Summary Balance Sheets As at December 31, 1992

Gordon Capital Corporation

Assets

Assets
Cash \$ 2,948,000
Securities owned, at market value 825,435,000
Due to clients, brokers and dealers 142,897,000
Due from related parties 11,379,000
Other 3,539,000

\$ 940,689,000

Other Assets 1,573,000

\$ 942,262,000

Liabilities in the Business

Current liabilities
Loans and bank overdrafts \$ 60,436,000
Securities sold short, at market value 149,802,000
Due to clients, brokers and dealers 344,581,000
Due to related parties 22,271,000
Accounts payable and other liabilities 11,666,000

\$ 413,344,000

Capital Lease Obligations 607,000

Capital in Business

including subordinated loans of 581,000,000

\$ 729,717,000

\$ 942,262,000

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Private

Key institutional shareholders provide access to international networks and capital.

Private

Key institutional shareholders provide access to international networks and capital.

Gordon Investment Corporation

Assets

Investments in equity \$ 211,240,800
Treasury bills and banknotes 129,326,800
Securities owned, at market value 106,647,200
Due to clients, brokers and dealers 185,800

\$ 447,410,000

Other Assets 1,573,000

\$ 448,983,000

Liabilities and Capital in Business

Current liabilities
Due to clients \$ 7,628,000
Accounts payable 2,956,000

\$ 10,584,000

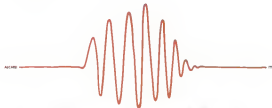
Capital in Business

including subordinated loans of 386,436,000

\$ 386,436,000

\$ 447,410,000

Notes: 1. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1992 and for the year ended 1992 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 2. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1991 and for the year ended 1991 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 3. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1990 and for the year ended 1990 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 4. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1989 and for the year ended 1989 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 5. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1988 and for the year ended 1988 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 6. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1987 and for the year ended 1987 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 7. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1986 and for the year ended 1986 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 8. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1985 and for the year ended 1985 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 9. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1984 and for the year ended 1984 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 10. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1983 and for the year ended 1983 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 11. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1982 and for the year ended 1982 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 12. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1981 and for the year ended 1981 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 13. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1980 and for the year ended 1980 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 14. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1979 and for the year ended 1979 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 15. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1978 and for the year ended 1978 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 16. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1977 and for the year ended 1977 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 17. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1976 and for the year ended 1976 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 18. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1975 and for the year ended 1975 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 19. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1974 and for the year ended 1974 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 20. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1973 and for the year ended 1973 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 21. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1972 and for the year ended 1972 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 22. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1971 and for the year ended 1971 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 23. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1970 and for the year ended 1970 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 24. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1969 and for the year ended 1969 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 25. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1968 and for the year ended 1968 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 26. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1967 and for the year ended 1967 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 27. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1966 and for the year ended 1966 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 28. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1965 and for the year ended 1965 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 29. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1964 and for the year ended 1964 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 30. The consolidated financial statements of Gordon Capital Corporation as at December 31, 1963 and for the year ended 1963 were audited by Ernst & Young Chartered Accountants. 31. 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MAKING THE MAGIC LAST



Games-givers vied to have the most enjoyable time imaginable—were in their first,

Suddenly, the party was almost over. The days were dwindling away, and the other Olympics—the ones in the Calgary arena in which

swifled, but not entirely dissuaded. It went beyond sport to something very much like magic, and not even the area's troublesome winds could blow it away. During the last week of the Games, as rain, northerly air broke down the sun-drenched Pacific low that had forced 32 postponements, Canadians embraced a host of new

Canadian ice dancers Tracy Wilson and Robert McCall skated off with a bronze, while suspense ski jumper Matti Nykanen—the Flying Finn—sailed to his second and third golds in aerial competition. From Van Goyen of the Netherlands and Bonnie Blair of the United States successfully assaulted the East German

strengthened (page 52). But perhaps the best came away last in a dramatic Saturday-night showdown, Katarina Witt, the dazzling East German figure skater, overbroke the gold, and Canada's Elizabeth Manley—with a stunning performance—overcame American Debi Thomas to take the silver (page 48). "I've had dreams about this night," and an embittered Manley "I'm so happy!"

Medals: As closing ceremonies neared, the Soviets held a sizable lead in the medals race, followed impressively by the East Germans. The Canadian count at the weekend stood at five medals—two silver and three bronze—and critics questioned whether or not that was sufficient proof for the federal government's \$20-million Red-Eye program. Sport Minister Otto Jelinek told *Weekend* that the money was designed to encourage participation at the local level, not just winning Olympic medals. And in any case, he noted, the Canadians had more top-eight finishers in Calgary than in any previous Games. "It's not disappointed in the performance of the team," he said. "I'm disappointed for the individual athletes who wanted to do better."

That seemed a fair cry from the attitude of the United States Olympic Committee, which last week appointed a special commission to monitor the effectiveness of its policies—and named back New York Yankees owner George Steinbrenner as its chairman. Committee officials insisted that the timing of the announcement had nothing to do with the disappointing American showing at the Games, just six medals at the

weekend. But Steinbrenner—a winning-at-everything type, whose team has failed to win a World Series since 1978—was not as diplomatic. "Bum," he said, "the medal count is the bottom line, whether you like it or not."

The bottom line at the beginning of the week was that the Germans seemed to be grinding to a halt. At Mount Allan and Canada Olympic Park, even after several attempts to make days of above-normal winds, which averaged 20 km/h on one gusty day. Spectators grumbled. Organizers said that the Games might have to be extended beyond the current week. Jacques Tardif, an official of the Fédération internationale de ski, warned that the constant delays involved "aerial anxiety" on the ski jumpers—and that winds could prevent Canada Olympic Park from being used for World Cup competitions.

But Tuesday dawned clear and still, and a festive crowd of 10,000 thronged to see the two-day 90-m ski jump. "You can't ask for a better day than today," beamed spectator David Pownall, 32, of Calgary. Nykanen took advantage of the conditions to complete a first-over-ropes at both the 70-m and 90-m jumps, with Canada's current champion Bjørn Nergaard in a best-over-ropes finish. The next day Nykanen crowned his conquest by leading the Finns to first in the team competition—and, for the moment, the party continued on the festive Canadian Olympic Park.

"I've never seen it so windy here for so many days," said Bala. "It's really too bad it had to happen during the Olympics."

Medals: At the weekend, there was also no verdict on the Canadian hockey team's quest for a medal. The division of the home-ice struggle was hoped two months earlier in Moscow when Team Canada topped the Soviets to win the bronze tournament. After a dis-



Manley: Too-bee phooey! Olympic viewers that ended up coming true

appointing performance the first week, the office-week Canadians needed a win over Sweden as Feb. 22 to move to the medal round with two points and a shot at the gold. But all they could manage was a 2-2 tie, advancing with a single point.

Meanwhile, the superb Soviets, although in danger after a series of defeats in other international tournaments, cruised undefeated through the preliminary round to advance with four points.

That set up the inevitable confrontation between the Soviets and their Canadian hosts. With the U.S. squad eliminated in the first round, ABC and TV crossed for a schedule change to position the Soviet-Chinese game in prime time, leaving Canadian head coach Dave

King in command. "It's great to be America's team—North America's, South America's, whatever." The show ended with the second period, when the dominant Soviets began to roll up the score. Team Canada had only two real scoring chances in the early game—shooting wide, both times—and the final tally was 5-0. The Soviets went on to blast Sweden to capture the gold. The Canadians, meanwhile, mounted a stirring recovery, beating West Germany and Czechoslovakia—and leaving the home team with hope of a medal if West Germany met best Sweden on Sunday.

Complete: The Soviets also continued to lead the way in cross-country skiing, taking 3 of the 4 total medals. But the traditional strong Swedes saved face by winning the team competition, and their star, Gunde Svann, topped the 60-km field. In the final of the biathlon, German skiers shot their way to dominance. But in the two-man biathlon, highly favored East German pilot Wolfgang Hoppe—who complained that dirt blown onto the track made going down it "like driving on sandpaper"—was upset by Soviet Lutz Ripstein. The Canadian did manage to force the demoralized sport of short-track racing, winning one gold, six silver and two bronze medals.

The world had come to Calgary on a cold February afternoon, and, if anything, days later, it was preparing to go. The ubiquitous television cameras, which had transformed the area into a vast set and local residents into extras, would soon be cut off away. The stadium and visitors would travel home to all parts of the globe. Ahead lay Calgary's collective hangover—and perhaps as Olympics lessons—and after that the endless assessments of costs and benefits. But in the waiting days last week, Calgaryers normal lives began making the magic last in awaiting the moment. "I'll stayed here 100 years," said Mike Butman, doorman at the six-story Pullman Hotel. "I'd never see anything like this again. Never."

—BOB LEVIN in Calgary

Sweden vs. the Soviet Union: leading pine (below): anticipating a collective hangover

friendly phase. On the Stephen Avenue mall, under a sparkling blue sky, skiers milled. In handbags, watched spectators and listened to foggy and rack. They traded pins feverishly, their chests laden with enough metal to make a general pool. They snapped pictures and ground popcorn steers, trying to hang on to the memory—to their piece of personal and sports history. "The Stange's making something to this," marveled Ross Deak, busily selling Olympic souvenirs at the Tropicana shop. Outside, as a crowd at Olympic Plaza sang over the Bandstand, 20-year-old Brian Anzeloni of Clifford, Ont., summed up the prevailing mood. "Nobody wants the Games to end," he gushed. "If they lasted a month, I'd stay the whole time—that's how much I'm loving 'em." It was a moment that defied mere logic, that could be de-

livered. There was Karen Perry, the blond Red Bull skier who skied to her second bronze medal (page 50), and Italy's Alberto Tomba, who garnered two golds.



PHOTO BY AP/WIDE WORLD



Manley (left), Witt, a freshly minted Canadian heroine skating the show tune on East German beauty and an American dynamo



Manley (left), Witt, a freshly minted Canadian heroine skating the show tune on East German beauty and an American dynamo

STARS IN THE SPOTLIGHT



From the beginning, it was supposed to be a two-star event. East German Katarina Witt and American Debi Thomas would fight it out for the Olympic gold medal two Games, two continents. But suddenly, near the end of the night, the script was turned up and Canada found itself with a freshly minted heroine. Katarina Witt, 20, of Ottawa, skated into the ice dressed as a shocking punk—and that was just the start of the electrifying. Turning in the performance of her career, Manley skated off with the silver medal after winning the long program, worth 50 per cent of the final mark. She finished a barely perceptible four-tenths of a point behind Witt, who skated flawlessly to win her second Olympic gold. But, clearly, Thomas crumbled under the Olympic strain, settling for the bronze. Said an elated Manley, who had started the evening in third place: "I never really felt the pressure. It's

been the Debi and Katarina every here." During her triumphant performance, Manley was booed by the cheers of a highly partisan crowd. "It sounded like the world was coming in," said the skater. "There was as much love in the crowd I could have stayed on there all night." In fact, the crowd was so loud that at times Manley could barely hear her own music. But the pert and perky five-foot, 105-lb. skater imple-jumped her way through an anaerobic program. Known for her jumping skills, the three-time Canadian champion has often been plagued by nerves in her top-pose international career. But during her dancing four-minute program, Manley, who was recovering from the flu, looked as composed and confident as she had all week.

In the pre-leaving-up to the Olympics, Manley had increased her training to eight hours a day from two, under the eye of her coach, Peter Dinkfield. She lost seven pounds, mostly from around her hips, and passed some reworked con-

ditions after consulting with sports psychologist Peter Jansen of Toronto. "I believed I could be on the podium," said Manley. "This was a dream." In fact, Manley had the dream two weeks ago. While training in Ontario in order to avoid the overhyped Olympic atmosphere, she dreamt that her mother, Joan, said down the Sudbourn steps to congratulate her. It was a good omen for the highly superstitious skater, who travels to every competition with one of her 39 teddy bears. In Saturday morning, just hours before her triumph, Manley recovered yet another headache from fever during mother, the emotional bedrock in her life. Manley thanked her, then headed to the dressing room to change so her mother could see her. "I love you."

Judges: The women's competition boiled down to the dramatic final program last Saturday night, but the post started bubbling well before that. After Thursday night's short performance, in which Witt placed first, Thomas second and

Thomas' impressive talent underlined by Olympic nerves

Manley third, Thomas and her coach, Alex McGowan, complained bitterly that the judges had favored Witt's European elegance to Thomas's Yankee passion. Said McGowan, who held his nose when Thomas's marks came up on the scoreboard: "I'm concerned that, no matter what Debi does, the die has been cast." In the short performance, Witt appeared cautious and nervous. Standing at the boards before the performance, she held hands with her coach, Jutta Miller. Looking like a member of the Russian's skating line in an effort of reassurance and blue pants, Witt jumped, spun and triple-jumped to a melody of Broadway tunes she charmed, but failed to recollect. The 10,000 spectators in the Saddledome said the judges rewarded her clean performance with high marks.

Minutes later when Thomas stepped on the ice in a black, sequin-studded body stocking, the crowd roared. Anne started her program, Witt, whose head arched, stood at risk-side and watched lily skating to the persuasive, funky beat of "Showdown My Heart." Thomas proved her way into the hearts of the crowd, flawlessly completing the seven required elements. At the end, she received a standing ovation and red roses from the judges. Thomas was clearly disappointed when

what caused an uproar in Paris when it was first performed in 1975 because it featured women in earthy and seductive roles. With her characteristic attitude in detail, Witt became a full-blown Germanologist, immersing herself in the study of the famous heroine. Fascinatingly, Witt worked on every gesture and jump with the East German choreographer Rudi Stoy, who has been with her since she was 15.

Beauty: Thomas took a different tack. Using some infantile intercardinal, Thomas acted ballet star Hildegard Behnke for a long time. "I began to play, and he began," Witt was in awe of him, said Thomas's mother, Janine. "She has her posters all over her bedroom wall." Behnke's role gave Thomas some tips and lines turned her over to his friend, George de la Pula, formerly a stunt with American Ballet Theatre. In Witt's version, Caruso becomes a victim of her sexuality. But Thomas, Caruso remains defiant to the very end, being neither her spirit nor her life. Said de la Pula: "Caruso does not die. She was murdered." Last Wednesday, de la Pula arrived in Calgary to face-time his protégée's performance. But his presence irritated McGowan, Thomas's coach since 1978. McGowan, who has a combative

relationship with Thomas herself, became testy over de la Pula's involvement. Watching Thomas practice last week, de la Pula said, "I may have to use hand signals to talk to her."

There was also mounting tension between the two women. According to insiders, the desire Witt does not like the flamboyant Thomas. When told that Thomas was studying German in order to speak in Witt's native tongue, Witt replied, "Doesn't she know I speak English?" Meanwhile, Thomas, who once described herself as introverted, took a shot at Witt last Friday. Asked to run up her opponent in one word, she said: "She should silver!" She sure to hell isn't going to get the gold, she said. Last week, Thomas reflected the strain by displaying the wildality of a prize dance. She openly argued with her coach, made funny faces at her boyfriend, Bruce Vanden Bogaert, and talked whenever she felt.

Beauty: There were no lip-synching during Witt's practice session. When she took to the ice, she became the ultimate skating machine—with her coach, Miller, steady at the controls. Said Miller, "She's Miller is responsible for every detail of that performance." The East German beauty has been turning heads since her arrival in Calgary. At the athletes' Olympic Village, 40 messages awaited her, including one from the Canadian holding team inviting her to the village disco. Canadian figure skater Karl Brown was also mentored by Witt. After skating his long program on Feb. 10, Brown sat in the stands to watch the remainder of the competition. In the end, he said, "I was Witt. Brown said simply, 'I was Witt.'"

Not everybody was so serious. Last week Witt was lambasted by Dinkfield, who claimed that her suggestive outfit would affect the nine judges—seven of whom are men. "We're here to skate in a dress and not to show it off," he added. "It's a circus." Thomas entered the debate, saying, "The costumes belong to a 1930s movie, rather than a world-class competitive." It was not the first time that Dinkfield and Thomas began to name Manley's place. After Thomas beat Manley at Skate Canada last November, Dinkfield declared that Thomas skated at a 10th of a point of "10 miles per hour." Last week, in effect, returned, Thomas won a standing ovation with a 10 mph speed limit sign emblazoned on the front. On the back, the script read: "Flying for 10 mph."

But when it came to the final test, Manley's speed and spirit were clearly superior. For Manley, capturing the silver medal, Caruso's song was "I'm Gonna Be a Dancer." For Thomas, it was a Olympic moment to treasure for years to come.

—JANE O'BARA in Calgary

THE END OF AN ERA



It was a family Olympic night for a woman accustomed to winning medals.

After picking her way through a throng of excited Dutch fans during a rough final during "Ola, ola, we are the champions," Karna Kenia-winner of five medals at previous Olympics—made a military walk last week from the brightly lit Olympic Oval into the chilly darkness of the University of Calgary campus. Three hours earlier Karna, one of the formidable *Rast* German speed skating queens, proudly forced herself across the 3,000-m finish line after almost stopping in agony with muscle cramps at the 2,400-m mark.

Assisted by her coach, Rocco Nard, she propped herself on a bench and lay flat on her back on the oval infield floor as her trainers massaged her muscular legs. Then she consigned water and new multi-world holder Yvonne Van Gorp of the Netherlands, hugged her teammates—silver medalist Andrea Ehrig and bronze medalist Gabi Zange—and slowly, painstakingly, stepped back onto the ice to skate until the pain subsided. Finally, she was able to leave the oval, but the second of the Dutch celebration followed her as she walked slowly to the athletes' village.

Politeness. Karna's fourth-place finish was unexpected. The striking 30-year-old, who says that she does not want her two-year-old son Bastia to be involved in sport because of his relentless demands, was expected to win no fewer than four medals in Calgary. Instead, she won a bronze only in the week in the 500-m sprint, beaten by teammate Christa Rothberger, 28, and new world-record setter Renate Blar, 23, of the United States. Still, her failure to win a medal set a record in the 3,000-m event by crushing "ShoWare it" and Andrew Barron, coach of Canada's youthful women's team. "Even a great skater like her made a tactical mistake. She went out too fast on the first lap," says Rocco. The lack of the close finish left her against Olympic record-holder Ehrig, 25. Karna's coach agreed with the analysis. "She was too fast. She became a little exhausted. It is unfortunate that she raced against Ehrig."



Blar: Rothberger (below) spazzing the queens

Indeed, Karna started the fastest opening 200 m of the evening and, said she faltered, was well ahead of a world-record pace. But her final lap was one of the classic Ehrig-led pace to establish a new world record at four minutes, 22.90 seconds. But that stood only until Van Gorp's startling time of four minutes, 11.14 seconds. The 23-year-old former medical student's victory surprised even veteran Dutch speed skating officials. Last December Van Gorp underwent surgery on her right foot to repair frozen injuries to a

trendon. "I am especially satisfied that I beat Karna and Andrea just at the moment before they retire," said Van Gorp. And Saturday night she did it again, winning the gold in the 1,500-m event.

For Karna and Ehrig, who have dominated the sport for seven years, it was their last Olympic competition. Both skaters are products of East Germany's infamous sports institutes, which were closing athletic training centers early on for development as world-class performers. Karna was the 500-m ice medalist at Lake Placid in 1980, and at Sarajevo in 1984 she won gold in both the 1,000-m and 1,500-m events and silver in 500 m and 3,000 m. Ehrig's medal run began with a second place in the 3,000-m event at the 1976 Innsbruck Games. She won the 1984 Olympic 3,000 m, and finished second in Karna in the 1,000 m and 1,500 m.

Challenges. Now Blar joins Van Gorp's strong challenge to the *Rast* German's continued domination. Urged on by a 20-strong family contingent and financed in part by the 90-member mixed team of her home town of Champey, Ill., whose members raised money for her through dances and coffee-table sales, Blar faced a previous challenge in the 500-m sprint. Defending Olympic champion Rothberger had broken her own world record with a timing 39.12-second race. But Blar accelerated into what she called the "best sprint of my life" and shaved a nanosecond 37.10ths of a second off Rothberger's time to win the gold medal. "I knew I could go faster after I saw Christa's time. The 500 m is as much of an all-out race as a 1,000-m race. A 1,000-m race is a 200-m race. A 200-m race is a 50-m race. A 50-m race is a 25-m race. A 25-m race is a 12.5-m race. A 12.5-m race is a 6.25-m race. A 6.25-m race is a 3.125-m race. A 3.125-m race is a 1.5625-m race. A 1.5625-m race is a 0.78125-m race. 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Bruce Curtis, a 28-year-old Canadian serving a controversial 20-year sentence for manslaughter in a New Jersey prison, is a major step on the long road home. After months of delays and bureaucratic complications, New Jersey Gov. Thomas Kean announced on Feb. 26 that he had agreed to allow Curtis to serve the remainder of his term in a Canadian prison, according to the provisions of a Canada-U.S. prisoner-exchange treaty ratified by the state in 1986. Curtis's mother, Alice, learned of Kean's eagerly awaited decision late Friday afternoon as she celebrated a protest vigil that also had started in January in front of the U.S. Embassy in Ottawa. She was "delighted," she told reporters, but added, "We believe as strongly as ever that Bruce did not get justice."

CRIME

The missing Nazi records

The documents were locked in steel filing cabinets in a cupboard protected by armed guards and buried away in the wealthy West Berlin suburb of Dahlem. But despite those precautions, as many as 80,000 secret files on leading figures of the Third Reich were stolen over 15 years from the Berlin Document Center, the world's largest storehouse of Nazi records. West Germany and U.S. authorities had been aware of the disappearance since 1962, but the information only became public in early February when the *Berliner Morgenpost* newspaper reported that black-market dealers had the documents had extracted up to \$15 million from "prominent personalities" afraid of exposure as co-Nazis. But last month new evidence indicated that the thieves were members of the owner's staff, and that they were using the papers to find West Germany's multibillion-dollar commerce in Nazi securities.

Daniel Simon, the U.S. director of the center, called the newspaper report "shaky journalism." Still, he conceded that "unknown members" of the U.S.-government-run center's files in 11 million government-run Nazi party and 600,000 former SS men had disappeared. Newspaper reports in Berlin last week said that among the stolen documents was a file on Martin Bormann, Hitler's closest aide, who mysteriously vanished in 1945. Berlin police department spokesman Viktor Kuehnke put the loss

"in the order of tens of thousands" and added that the now-retired deputy director of the center, a German, was suspected of smuggling the sensitive papers pieced from the building and giving them to five major West German dealers in Nazi securities.

The thefts have shed fresh light on an industry that exploits the fascination that many West Germans have for the Third Reich period. The business first became an issue after the 1963 publication by the West German newspaper *Stern* of diaries reported to be Hitler's. The weekly paid more than \$5 million for the papers, which had actually been written by Stuttgart ferry driver Konrad Kasper. Kasper was encouraged to sell them by Stern reporter Gerd Hassenstein—himself an avid collector of Nazi memorabilia.

Kuehnke says that about 1,000 of the stolen files—which have a market value of between \$100 and \$2,000—have so far been recovered, including a letter to Hitler from one of his doctors. And last week U.S. government spokesman Anthony Bertel said that security at the archives has been tightened so that further pilfering of records is "inconceivable." But Kuehnke claimed that the case had far wider implications and had raised many questions—including why investigators have taken six years to find those responsible for the thefts.

—PETER LEWIS in Brussels

Curtis's long trip home

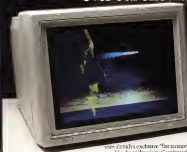
For Bruce Curtis, a 28-year-old Canadian serving a controversial 20-year sentence for manslaughter in a New Jersey prison, it was a major step on the long road home. After months of delays and bureaucratic complications, New Jersey Gov. Thomas Kean announced on Feb. 26 that he had agreed to allow Curtis to serve the remainder of his term in a Canadian prison, according to the provisions of a Canada-U.S. prisoner-exchange treaty ratified by the state in 1986. Curtis's mother, Alice, learned of Kean's eagerly awaited decision late Friday afternoon as she celebrated a protest vigil that also had started in January in front of the U.S. Embassy in Ottawa. She was "delighted," she told reporters, but added, "We believe as strongly as ever that Bruce did not get justice."

For five years New Jersey legal authorities have rejected numerous appeals by Curtis's family for a new trial or to have the conviction and sentence overturned. Curtis, then an 18-year-old from Mount Hawley, N.S., was jailed after shooting and killing Rosemary Pedra, the mother of a school friend whom he was visiting in Lack Arrow, N.J., in July, 1962. Curtis insisted during his trial that the shooting was an accident, which occurred after several days of domestic violence during which his friend, Susan Pedra, was killed by her father, Alfred Podja. The case attracted special attention in Canada where legal observers and human rights organizations objected to serious irregularities in the trial and to the unusually harsh sentence given to a young offender with no previous record.

Other circumstances hindered before Curtis was returned to Canada. It will take at least seven more weeks before he can be released, he said, as approved by federal authorities in Washington and Ottawa. But under the Canadian penal system, Curtis is already eligible for full parole and would be eligible for full parole in December, 1988, having by then served a third of his sentence. By contrast, he was not due for parole in New Jersey until July, 1989. Still, a senior Correctional Service of Canada official told *Maclean's* last week that any parole would not be granted unconditionally or automatically. Curtis, the official said, "will have to earn the privilege like any other prisoner."

—MICHAEL BERGE in Ottawa

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For as long as anyone can remember, colour monitors have relied on conventional, curved cathode ray tubes. Now Zenith has changed all that by developing the first and only monitor with a perfectly flat screen. The visible result is brighter, sharper images, as well as clearer, crisper character definition.

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This unique 14-inch flat monitor

uses Zenith's exclusive "flat screen mask" tube technology. Combined with a special non-glass screen movement and a high frequency scan rate, it results in some truly important advantages over conventional monitors.

Even in normally lit offices where glare and the resulting fatigue were once a real headache, the new Zenith ZCM-1490 outperforms its competitors. Fact is, Zenith's non-glass flat-bed monitor and scan glare up to 95% over competitive monitors. It's far to say that the ZCM-1490 in brightness and contrast exceeds far more costly professional graphics displays.

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What is the most common type of baldness?

If you are experiencing progressive hair loss, you may be experiencing hereditary "male pattern baldness"—the most common type of baldness among men.

However, this should be determined by a physician, not yourself. Only your doctor has the necessary expertise to make an accurate diagnosis. If you are indeed facing male pattern baldness, your doctor

can assess whether you could benefit from new treatment programs for baldness.

How has baldness been treated?

The on-going concern over baldness among many men has given rise to the use of tapes and wigs. Many cosmetic approaches such as hair weaving and surgical techniques including hair transplantation have also been developed.

As well, various scalp preparations have been made available. Although none have ever been proven effective, the advertising of such products has led consumers to believe that they are scientifically documented and medically approved remedies for baldness.

How can your doctor treat baldness?

As your physician can tell you, many of the treatments used in the past have not been effective.

In more recent years, new treatment programs for common baldness have been developed. These programs have been tested by doctors, and have shown good

results. Moreover, they are available only through the medical profession.

Since everyone's scalp and hair growth potential is different, your doctor will consider a number of factors before recommending any new treatment program. In determining whether a treatment program might be of value to you, factors such as your age and the time over which you've been balding must be considered.

Why you should talk to your doctor.

Now that you're aware of some of the factors affecting hair loss and the new treatment programs, you should be aware of the importance of seeking professional advice.

Only your doctor, through careful evaluation of your particular circumstances, can determine whether a treatment program may be of benefit to you.

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If you are facing baldness, talk to your doctor.

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FOR THE RECORD

Opera's new crescendos

AKHINATEN

Conducted by Dennis Russell Davies
(CBS Masterworks — three discs)

In his most recent work, American composer Philip Glass brings his own critics to his repetitive, trance-like style with a mystical soundscape for ancient Egypt. *Akhinaten*, which follows the one-power's monomaniacal portrait of Albert Einstein and Richard Strauss (Glass), is the operatic tale of a pharaoh's rise and fall. Believing against conservative priests, Akhinaten introduced worship of one supreme being—the sun, or Aton—in Egypt. Glass captures his world with soaring, sensual and rhythmically vital music. Particularly striking are *The City*, *Enser and Aton* and *Pharaoh*, in which Akhinaten's followers finally turn against their increasingly withdrawn, contemplative pharaoh. The music breathes rapt wonder and serenity, even the scenes of chaos are orderly. And whenever the hypnotic mood sears them, Glass introduces new shades into his tapestry. *Akhinaten* is a majestic score in which the Stuttgart State Opera Orchestra, chorus and soloists luminize.

BERNSTEIN/WADSWORTH

A QUIET PLACE
Conducted by Leonard Bernstein
(DG/PolyGram — three discs)

A Quiet Place, Bennett Bernstein's eloquent but flawed 1982 work, comes easily between opera and Broadway musical, between group therapy and soap opera. Written with Stephen Wadsworth, it borrows from Bernstein's 1982 musical opera, *Treasure in Valhalla*, in which it also serves as sequel. As musicians gather for a funeral, the composers convey a dark view of American family life, with repressed personalities colliding in loveless relationships. Still, all the characters secretly yearn for fellowship, and the family eventually achieves a measure of reconciliation. Although hardly a promising plot, the cast—particularly soprano Beverly Morgan and mezzo soprano Wendy White—displays energy and commitment. At its best, the music is ravishing, but at its worst, it is numbing—as if the composers themselves were uncertain of how to convey their story about a family's failure to communicate.

—JOHN PEACHE



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HEALTH

Operation checklist

On Jan. 6, 1971, 65-year-old Less Wickline entered New Hope Community Hospital in California to be treated for a circulatory problem in her right leg. Medi-Cal, the state-operated health insurance company, had agreed to cover the costs—provided that Wickline's stay in hospital did not exceed 14 days. Wickline left the hospital at the designated time—and, 16 days later, doctors had to amputate her leg. Wickline later sued the State of California on the grounds that Medi-Cal had authorized only part of the postoperative care that her doctor had recommended and that, as a result, she lost her leg. Eventually, in 1986, the California Court of Appeal ruled against her on the grounds that her doctor did not appeal Medi-Cal's decision. The impasse of events underscored the controversy surrounding a growing practice in the United States: the insistence on the part of medical insurers to approve, in advance, operations and the extent of postoperative care.

The practice developed because of insurance companies' concerns about con-

tinuing payments, coupled with payments from corporate clients to reduce the huge premiums they pay on behalf of employees. Most doctors have derided the practice as irritating, time-consuming and a potential threat to the well-

Many U.S. medical insurers are insisting on approving, in advance, operations and the extent of hospital care

being of their patients. But insurers say that they are saving billions of dollars by reducing what they perceive to be unnecessary operations and cutting hospital stays—and that they have passed on the savings to their clients in the form of significantly reduced premiums.

The procedure works as follows: after a doctor and his patient have determined that an operation should take

place, a member of the doctor's staff calls a consultant who works for the insurance company—usually a registered nurse—and who checks a list of criteria for that particular operation. The consultant never says no, and if he or she has doubts about a case it is referred to a consulting physician who in turn confers with the doctor. Finally, a head of the insurers ultimately decides to reduce or withdraw coverage, (the doctor can appeal that decision. But doctors resent these procedures. Especially annoying, they say, is the consultant's reliance on mechanical or hospital rules. Fred De Marguerite, England, a glaucoma disease specialist in Los Angeles, "They sometimes call every day. It takes up a heck of a lot of time."

Still, the practice has spawned a thriving secondary industry: companies that review cases on behalf of the insurance companies. Corporations pay about \$3 per employee for these services, and statistics show that, since the practice was first introduced in the late 1950s, health care costs in the United States have not escalated as rapidly as before. And some members of the medical community say that the practice is bound to spread to other countries where costs are soaring—including Canada.

—NANCY MEYER with ANNE GRONQVIST in Los Angeles

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Each year, bacteria called *Haemophilus influenzae* type b (Hib) cause several kinds of potentially fatal infections in an estimated 2,000 Canadian children under 5. And in about half the cases, Hib leads to bacterial meningitis—a debilitating nerve disorder that causes blindness, deafness, mental retardation—and even death. Currently, the existing vaccine against Hib can only be used on children 2 and older, whose immune systems are mature enough to respond. But last month officials at Toronto's Connaught Laboratories Ltd. announced that they had developed a vaccine that can be given to children as young as 18 months. Called PreHibit, it will be widely available for Canadian and U.S. doctors to prescribe by the beginning of March, said Dr. Ronald Gock, chief of the division of infectious disease at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children. "This is a major breakthrough. With the old vaccine, we couldn't help the children at greatest risk."

After large-scale trials over a period of eight years, involving more than 40,000 children, researchers discovered that children under 2 responded to the Hib vaccine if it was combined with the *lipid* (fat) usually found in infant as part of a mandatory vaccination program. And according to Robert Van Eske, Connaught's manager of technical services, the children who were tested experienced no significant adverse reactions. Added Van Eske: "It is probably the safest vaccine ever developed."

Because children as young as 18 months can now be inoculated against Hib, Van Eske estimates that the new vaccine—which will eliminate the old one—could wipe out between 85 and 95 per cent of cases of Hib meningitis. As well, the technology that the researchers used to produce the vaccine has raised the possibility of other medical breakthroughs. Van Eske said that researchers now have the ability to develop a vaccine for other bacteria—including the increasingly virulent strains of sexually transmitted gonorrhea. For now, however, company officials say that they are concentrating on getting permission to license the new meningitis vaccine for use on children as young as two months. If they are successful, up to 65 per cent of the cases of the life-threatening disease could be prevented.

—NORA UNDERWOOD

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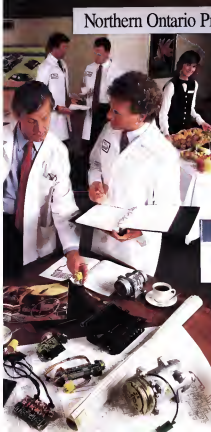
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Pride and prejudice

DAUGHTERS OF THE COUNTRY
CBC, Thursdays, 8 p.m.

The Mitts have been called the children of two worlds, sharing both Indian and European blood but belonging to neither race. During Canada's exploration, the offspring of white fur traders and Indian women were buffeted between two cultures. That the status of the half-breed is little better now than it was then is the saddest consequence of an award-winning four-part National Film Board series, *Daughters of the Country*, which begins airing on the CBC this week. Each hour-long drama tells the story of a Métis woman who refuses to become a victim of society. The first episode portrays an 18th-century Ojibwa woman who spins at her Scottish fur-trader husband when she learns that, without telling her, he has sent their son to school in Edinburgh. Another, set in 1948, depicts an Alberta Métis woman who makes the same fearful gesture to a white policeman who has betrayed her trust. Persecution and



King refusing to become a victim

prejudice have endured through the centuries, but, according to the series, the courage to split is the fate of injustice has survived as well.

Sensitively scripted by western Canadian women writers, the brief, absorbing dramas are models of their kind. The first program, *Home*, tells the story of an Ojibwa (Haisla King) whose wife marries her off to an adventurous fur trader in order to cement a trading agreement. Finding her marriage intolerable, she returns to her village after an absence of several years. But the tribe is devastated by the European disease onslaught, and she instructs her young daughter to go out into the wilderness, where she has a chance of surviving.

The second episode, set in Saskatchewan in 1888 and called *Melanie Macleod*, focuses on a Métis (Melanie Dayle) who is cast off by her omnivorous husband, a Hudson's Bay Co. clerk, who furthers his ambition by taking a white bride. He wants Melanie to remain as his mistress, but married she exposes her people in their rebellion against the company. The choices faced by such heroines are lonely ones, there is no side harbor in which they can retain their integrity.

That sense of alienation deepens in the 38th episode, as the promise of television into white society remains unfulfilled. The third drama, *Places Not Our Own*, explores the theme of the displacement of the Mitts during the Depression. After Ross Langston (Charles Sturgis and Michael Riley) and his husband lose their firm, he returns to his Mitts reserve, but the ambitious Ross chooses instead to take their three children to a town in Manitoba. There, she is shattered to discover that, as a quarter outside the city limits, she cannot even send her children to school. The story is seen through the peered eyes of her teenage daughter (Dianne Dehaene), who underlines their beguiling position better than her belated mother. The fine performances of the two actresses—and Sandra Rhoads's poetic script—make that episode the best of the series. The final program, *The Wake*, which also stars the belated heroine, is less assured as a drama but gripping in its denunciation of racial tensions in contemporary Alberta.

The fact that *Daughters of the Country* is awash with white liberal guilt adds to its strength. The real-life Métis women who built their families together against forbidding odds are for the most part candidates for sainthood—yet their stories are chillingly credible. *Daughters of the Country* illustrates a fascinating and neglected chapter in Canadian history, one that deserves all the exposure it can get.

—GRACY MCKAY

Controversy lingers at Rainbows' end

The CBC's new \$11.5-million TV miniseries, *Changing Rainbows*, in the kind of mammoth project that makes even seasoned network executives shiver. Spanning the period between 1917 and 1932, the romantic drama, slated for 45 studio sets, 90 on-site locations and 2,500 costumes. And in addition to its already scant, the 16-hour series, which begins airing on Sunday, March 8, breaks new ideological ground. *Changing Rainbows*—the brainchild of executive producer Mark Bradford and screenwriter Douglas Brown, who together created CBC's popular 1981 dramatic series, *Kane*—has in the world's first TV series to be shot with high-definition television (HDTV) equipment. The new videotape system produces a more detailed picture than a conventional television signal. With the numerous story hand-wrings, capturing the saga of two First World War soldiers and the women they both love took 18 months. Sud Paul Gross, who plays Jake, one of the two male leads. "It got to the point where I was thinking, 'This is never going to be real!'"

As shooting dragged on, tempers frayed on the Scarborough, Ont., set. Many of the performers—including Gross and his fellow leads, Jake A. Stewart and Michael Riley—shed that standard TV role and stepped down gritty elements in the script to avoid offending viewers. Riley, who plays Jake's friend and rival, Chris, said that as a screen depicting his character's descent into alcoholism, Bradford chose to cut away to another character looking on pityingly—instead of focusing on the raw ugliness of Chris's rage. "A month and a half into the shoot-out," Riley added, "I realized that, no matter what I did, this was going to be a ugly, confronting and liberally sentimental sex drama." Bradford denied that he tried to soften the production in any way. "It's called 'This is a thing' and of this length, there are bound to be tensions and problems. It's like a war."

Now, four months after shooting was completed, the cast and crew seem to agree that *Changing Rainbows* was, at the very least, a solid learning experience. According to Bradford, the decision to use HDTV has paid off. While rating that standard TV sets are not sophisticated



Gross (center) with crew and muddy trenches

at all, a solid learning experience. According to Bradford, the decision to use HDTV has paid off. While rating that standard TV sets are not sophisticated

enough to convey the full benefits of the new technology, he predicts that viewers will notice an appreciable difference in picture quality. Meanwhile, Gross says that *Rainbows*—especially the scenes depicting trench warfare—prepared him for his current role as a First World War soldier in a Irish playwright Frank McGuinness's *Shirley*, the Son of Ulster Marston. Toward the *Rainbows*, now playing at Toronto's St. Lawrence Centre. "We sat in the mud all day long," said Gross, recalling the *Rainbows* shoot. "After enough time, you begin to get the tired stuff of how horrifying it would have been to be sitting there for months."

Riley, who turned down a chance to become a member of the Stratford Festival's postgraduate Young Company in order to do *Rainbows*, says that the series allowed him to "learn a lot about myself as an actor." But reliving the violence of his costars Gross and Stewart, he added, "I would never do anything this long again."

—PAMELA YOUNG

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Troopers and flappers

CHANGING RAINBOWS
CBC, March 6-8, 10-12

It's billed as the war to end all wars. But certainly, the First World War has rekindled a welter of novels, dramas and screenplays. *Changing Rainbows*, a new, seven-part 14-hour CBC television epic, takes a look at the war in a polar genre and approach to that traumatic subject: in the series, which begins on March 8, two young Marstonians—Chris, a wealthy banker's son, and Jake, a rough-and-tumble character from the slums—forge a friendship in the trenches of France. After the war the two men and Chris's fiancée, Paula, enter into the postwar conflict of a love triangle.

Both Jake (Paul Gross) and Chris (Michael Riley) face domestic quagmires when they return home in Chris's case, the family business business has fallen into ruin, and his uncle-brother (John A. Stewart) has succeeded to the international modernity of the derring-do flapper era. Meanwhile, Chris faces all of his army pay in a polar genre and approach to that traumatic subject: in the series, which begins on March 8, two young Marstonians—Chris, a wealthy banker's son, and Jake, a rough-and-tumble character from the slums—forge a friendship in the trenches of France. After the war the two men and Chris's fiancée, Paula, enter into the postwar conflict of a love triangle.

While much of the plot of *Changing Rainbows* is as crassly as an encephaloid Y. cranial, the three young leads give winning

performances. Riley portrays the alcoholic Chris with subtly shaded understatement. And Gross makes the virile Jake seem misanthropic and preoccupied at the same time. Newcomer Stewart—who was a second-year student at Montreal's National Theatre School when she won her part—has some difficult propelling parts, say so, but she conveys her character's forthright intelligence with ease. For all its attempts to make 1918s Montreal seem to life—and despite heightened dramatic license in the last two episodes—*Changing Rainbows* remains as busy and smoothly nostalgic as an old-fashioned sepia photograph.


—F.Y.

Macbeth's troubled spell

The drama is considered as unlikely that it will attract its real masses and call it "the Scottish play" in five theatrical tradition holds that any actor who mentions Shakespeare's Macbeth to a fellow thespian must leave the room, here around three times, spit, knock and then beg for pardon. Since it premiered in 1606, the bloody drama that opens with a dancer withered snow has acquired a reputation for causing **STRANGE AND TERRIBLE** events—including a near-fatal mishap for Laurence Olivier, who was almost struck by a falling stage weight in a 1951 production. Now, Christopher Reeve has taken on the role of icy, merciless



there is new pro-British O'Keefe before a time to be af-



ceived 1962 Stratford production, is now undergoing daily therapy.

The four-week British run also attracted fans from the show's original set, which is dominated by great jagged steps. On opening night the actors appeared to have difficulty negotiating them, especially under the bright lighting Jackson designed a simpler design, saying that she wouldn't rather perform on an empty stage. Said Winton, who is producing the new show, "I'm a fan, in, with a vengeance."

husband, Barry, and Toronto-based Cineplex Odeon Corp. president Garth Drabinsky. "When we got before a live audience, it was obvious changes had to be made."

The producers took decisive steps before the show moved to Pittsburgh—including hiring Stratford Festival designer and resident Philip Collins.

for Daphne Dare to create a new set. Most important, the producers hired Phillips, who directed Maggie Smith and Douglas Rain in a 1978 Stratford production of *Macbeth* that gained mixed reviews but triumphed at the box office. Weisler told *Maclean's* that Phillips, a friend of DeRosier's, has brought "a whole new spirit and excitement to the cast."

Winters predicts that audiences will continue to push the theater for her production because of its strongly sexualized tone. In fact, Jackson's Lady Macbeth is particularly salient in the sense in which she urges her husband to kill the king, she suggestively rubs up against him. Jackson—at 31, a veteran of stage and screen—says that she seized the opportunity to appear in the show. "Any opportunity to do Shakespeare is worth worth doing," she says, adding that the Lady Macbeth character fascinates her because that she's very passionately committed to this man. I think of Nancy Reagan when she says that next."

So far, Jackson has won the critics' warmest comments, with *The Philadelphia Free* calling his performance "brilliant, precise, perfectionistic." Still, the *Baltimore Sun's* critic wrote that while it was "an honor" to see Jackson and Plummer perform, it was not "a thrill." Phillips is now working furiously to change the production with some electricity. Next week Canadians will have an opportunity to see if he has succeeded.

- WILLIAM LOWTHER vs. Pittsburgh

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FUNCTION

- 2 *Kalishdemonia*, *Steel* (2)
 - 3 *The Tommyknockers*, *King* (2)
 - 4 *The Baiting of the Vambres*, *Wright* (2)
 - 5 2005: *Myrrine Thane*, *Clarke* (2)
 - 6 *Heaven and Hell*, *Julius* (2)
 - 7 *Hot Money*, *Francis* (2)
 - 8 *Sarcum*, *Rotheryhead* (2)
 - 9 *Wormwood*, *Barber* (2)
 - 10 *Presumed Innocent*, *Tarrow* (2)
- NONFICTION**
- 1 *True Film*, *Cady* (2)
 - 2 *Unsettled History of Canada*,
edited by *Brown* (2)
 - 3 *Elizabeth Takes Off*, *Twyler* (2)
 - 4 *Centuries of the Wilderness*, *Neuman* (2)

- 6 *Trains: The Art of the Road*, Trump
- 7 *Friends in High Places*, Moy (H)
- 8 *Speakeasy*, Wright (L)
- 9 *Chronicle of the 20th Century*,
edited by Daniel (M)
- 10 *The Great Depression of 1930*, Buca

—Compiled by Sandra MayOreano

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Team Calgary wins a gold medal

By Allan Fotheringham

The most memorable sight at the Montreal Olympics was the magnificent Alberto Tomba as he fell right, pure beauty in sports. He was a Cuban quarter-miler, a horse of a man well over six feet, with a stride that spanned eight feet. The sight of him stomping around the head into the stratosphere with you never forget. The most memorable scene from the Lake Placid Olympics, naturally, was the pure joy and childish excitement that burst from the band of American college boys at the final buzzer that signalled they had beaten the unbeatable Russians on the way to a hockey gold medal. The most memorable sight of the Los Angeles Games was the spectacle of the puny Carl Lewis, then the finest sprinter/long jumper in the world and within an instant of becoming his nation's pet-up boy, appearing his public and instead suddenly refusing to jump again because he already had a winning distance. The public seemed on loan at that moment and has yet to change its mind.

Strangely enough, there have not been individual memorable moments at these Calgary Games (if you can leave aside the triumph of Kristina Witte. Firstenberg, the Swiss lad who was supposed to win five gold medals, got one and was subdued early. Alberto Tomba, the Italian ego known as La Bomba, was faulty enough he finished seven the wrong way in his slalom specialties that he didn't have overall impact).

The Swiss girls, Maria Wuttler and Michela Figini, who were supposed to open out everyone before scratching each other's eyes out, did little. Neither Brian Billeau nor Brian Billeau are what you would call dominating personalities.

So what was left? Calgary, the weather, ABC and the people. The clear winners were the latter, gold medalists all. Your agent arrived in Calgary after a squabble in Iowa for the presidential Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

dential campaign fails. The two stages emphasized once again the virtues of the open plaza, hard weather and kindly people, a stark contrast to the filthy, quarantined slums of the inhabitants of a Washington or a Toronto.

ABC magals going bananas over the amazing fact that the Rocky Mountains actually produce some incredible winds? It's been well established that the Calgary officials and meteorologists planned to start the Olympics in late February but were persuaded (bribe?) by ABC to put

with the rest of the country. Toronto is crying for the 1996 Games (Barcelona has 1992), which would be going up against the nostalgic choice of Athens, where the first modern Olympics were staged in 1896.

But the violence in Seoul is making the Olympic prizegivers nervous about tempting fate in another politically uneasy country such as Greece. If Toronto fails in 1996, perhaps 1990. It's about time it had something worldwide.

And, yes, we must address the cowboys-and-Indians issue. No doubt these two brilliant viewers around the world are now convinced Calgary can ride a buckskin to work. No one would have any idea, from watching the coverage, that there is a little business called all and you going on in those lowering towers. Bears and hawks shop and beating ten-tones make better television.

One shoulder to think what the American broadcasters in Toronto, la, say, 1996, might select to show the colorful locals to the world. A three-piece referee from Bay Street, belonging in the backyard a piece of Alberta beef that he rounded up himself? Harold Ballard's sweet hair dye?

It is hard to imagine what there is of Toronto that could be transmitted worldwide to demonstrate there is something distinctly Canadian there. Not hard from Montreal at all. Not hard from the Atlantic provinces (a do-cro of John. Omaha's spangly bagpipes). Not hard from Alberta (a do-cro of Bill Vander Zant's grey-elfe-fiddling).

Calgary, one reluctantly confesses, has provided for the tube-watcher in Banquet and Bambi a feeling (however outlandish) that there is some life and up in that country, even if you have to walk backwards to prove it. The rest of us are willing to give our support in Toronto in bidding for the 1996 or 1998 Olympic Games on one condition. Show us how you are going to demonstrate that, as Canadians, you look or appear different from Cleveland or Philadelphia. Suggestions will be accepted. Excess return postage.



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